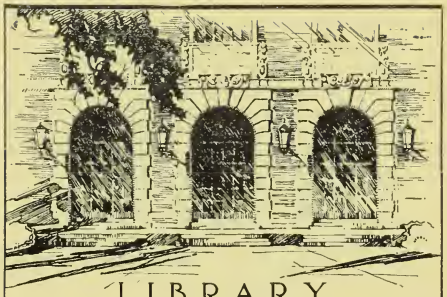


LIBRARY
OF THE
UNIVERSITY
OF ILLINOIS
PRESENTED BY

Theodore Calvin Pease

902
J41m
1937
cop.2

R

ILL. HIST. SURVEY

Theodore C. Pease

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2012 with funding from
University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign

http://www.archive.org/details/manualofarchivea00iljenk

A MANUAL OF ARCHIVE ADMINISTRATION

A MANUAL OF ARCHIVE ADMINISTRATION

by

HILARY JENKINSON

sometime Scholar of Pembroke College and
F. W. Maitland Lecturer in the University of Cambridge:
Reader in Diplomatic and English Archives
in the University of London

NEW AND REVISED EDITION

LONDON
PERCY LUND, HUMPHRIES & CO LTD
12 BEDFORD SQUARE, W.C.1
1937

First Edition published 1922
New and Revised Edition published 1937

MADE AND PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN
BY PERCY LUND, HUMPHRIES & CO. LTD.
LONDON & BRADFORD

902 Ill. Hist. Surv.
J41m
1937
Copy 2

PREFACE TO SECOND EDITION

When I first decided to put in hand a new edition of this *Manual* I was under the impression that the task would be a very light one. I did not intend (as indeed I have not attempted) to do more than I did in 1922 ; that is, to illustrate the theory and practice of Archive Work from English Archives : I had not changed, so far as I knew, my views upon matters of principle : and for the rest it did not occur to me that after the lapse of a comparatively small amount of time I should need to do more than revise a few references and re-write a few paragraphs. Actually, though the first part of my assumption has proved correct—I do not find myself in disagreement with my former exposition of Archive Theory—I now know that I much under-estimated the number of small practical matters upon which I should wish to give the result of greater knowledge : I had had what is, I suppose, the common experience of a man engaged in work which progresses only by slow stages—that of not realizing, till circumstances compel him to take stock, how much progress has been made.[1]

I should not have thought it worth while to mention this if my personal experience had not chanced to coincide with a period—roughly the period since the Great War—during which appreciation of the value of Archives, and organized effort for their better control and maintenance, have increased to an unparalleled extent both in Europe and America generally and in England in particular. I can make no pretence to deal thoroughly here with these developments (it would need a small treatise) but it may be worth while to glance at a few outstanding matters.

[1] I find that since 1922, when I was first charged with the superintendence of a Repair Department, something like 50,000 Archive pieces, many of them containing large numbers of individual documents, have passed through it. I might have known that this could hardly happen without a considerable enlargement of view. Actually we have in that time evolved what amounts to a new technique in more than one department of the work. A similar remark might be made in regard to other divisions of Archive work with which I have been personally in touch : and I have, of course, profited largely by the accumulated experience of many colleagues at the Public Record Office and friends in this and other Countries.

One has, in fact, only to look at any periodical summary of Archive progress, such as the *Year's Work in Archives* which is now compiled by the British Records Association,[1] to see that progress on an important scale is continuous everywhere and in relation to every department of Archive work : each year we hear of new Archive Laws or the re-organization of existing establishments ; [2] of new Buildings or the adaptation of old ones to new usefulness as Repositories ; [3] of the working of international agreements [4] touching Archives affected by political changes and the re-integration of ancient *fonds* long dismembered ; [5] of the enlargement of the scope of the Archivist's work to cover new fields ; [6] of fresh progress in the production of volumes in existing series of Archive publications and the initiation of new ones ; [7] of technical research in

[1] Published by the Library Association in its *Year's Work* volume and separately by the Records Association in its *Reprints* series. I have taken most of the illustrations which follow from the issues of 1935 and 1936.

In this connexion I should not omit mention of at least two Continental Publications —the German *Archivalische Zeitschrift* and the Italian *Archivi d'Italia: Rassegna Internazionale degli Archivi.* In many other countries there are now specialist publications devoted to Archive work, though generally their interests are mainly national.

[2] For example very important new Laws, increasing the powers both of Provincial and State Archivists in relation to Public Departments, came into force in France in 1936 : a new Decree of 1935 has superseded in Italy the old *regolamento* of 1911 : in Germany the re-organization of the *Reichsarchiv* in 1934 has been, or is being, followed by other important legislation : and many other examples could be cited. Little is known at present, outside Russia, of the results of Archive organization, or re-organization, in that country : but they should be full of interest.

[3] The number which might be cited is embarrassingly large but perhaps the most important is the rehabilitation of the Hôtel de Rohan at Paris as a Repository, and the connexion established between this and the Hôtel Soubise. In 1936 occupation of new premises was reported from Rome and from ten other Italian Archive Centres.

[4] Notably that between Germany and Denmark concerning the Schleswig-Holstein Archives ; dealing with a situation which dates back to the Treaty of Vienna, in 1878.

[5] The outstanding example comes, of course, from Poland.

[6] The incorporation of Notarial *Minutiers* in the *Archives Nationales* at Paris is particularly important : similar work has been going on in Italy for some years ; and was in progress (until recent lamentable events) in Spain, as the result of a decree of 1931.

[7] This is much too large a subject for the citation of representative examples : but anything in the nature of a new general Guide is important, and in this connexion the new French *Etat Général des Inventaires des Archives* . . . may be cited.

regard to the materials and conservation of documents ; [1] of experiments in Archive Education—education of the Archivist himself by means of special schools [2] and of the Public by Exhibitions and by increased facilities for research.[3] Perhaps the most striking milestone in the progress of Archive work in recent years, from a national point of view, is the triumphant institution, after more than fifty years of struggle, of a National Archives of the United States Government,[4] its organization upon lines which profit by the trial and error of a century in Europe, and its establishment in a building which must be the object of envy to every Archivist under older dispensations. While as an evidence of the international importance to which our subject has now attained it is only necessary to record that in recent years a Committee of the League of Nations has found it both desirable and possible to compile and issue a *Guide International des Archives* ; [5] drawing for the purpose information from the Archive Establishments of thirty-six European Countries.

A growth which is no less remarkable, though of course on a smaller scale, has been witnessed in England during the same period. It is no exaggeration to say that, at the time this book appeared, there were still many persons concerned with Record work for whom their subject began and ended with the Public Records ; who would not allow much importance to any classes even of those, apart from the Chancery Enrolments,

[1] See the replies of several Countries (*e.g.* Holland, Italy, Norway, Sweden and Russia) to the last part of the questionnaire issued for the *Guide International* mentioned below.

[2] As an interesting local manifestation may be mentioned the Instructional Courses for 62 ' District Wardens ' of Archives in Würtemberg. Larger and more national (or international) in scope is the Inter-Scandinavian Archive Day, in which Denmark, Esthonia, Finland, Norway and Sweden participate.

[3] What is, perhaps, a curious comment on recent political happenings is the official assistance now given in many German Repositories to genealogical researches. In general, increased facilities for students and an opening up of Archives have been a post-War feature in most Countries.

[4] See some description of this in B.R.A. *Reprints*, No. 5 : 14,000,000 dollars have been expended on the new buildings at Washington.

[5] Published by the Institut International de Coopération Intellectuelle in 1935.

the State Papers, and a few others; and for whom the needs of the Student meant only the needs of Family History or Topography. If the suggestion had been made to them that for the Archivist all classes of documents in his custody must from certain points of view be said to have an equal value, they would certainly have considered that the person who put it forward was trying to gain a cheap reputation by the use of paradox : and to talk of Archive Science in such company was to run the risk of being thought rather silly. Outside the Public Record Office, though a number of official Reports [1] had drawn attention to the quantity, nature and importance of our Local Records, there were not more than two or three Local Authorities which had yet even considered the desirability of making special provision for the organization and maintenance of an Archive department : and after fifty years of demonstration, in the publications of the Historical MSS. Commission, of the quality and quantity of Private Collections in this Country local enthusiasts were still struggling with little success in most neighbourhoods to obtain that first requisite—a Local Repository where they could find housing and custody for documentary collections in danger of dispersal or destruction.[2] It is true that the local Record-printing Societies, in which this Country has long been particularly rich,[3] were educating public opinion in the value of private and local collections, had succeeded in interesting the Public Libraries, and in one or two cases had established Repositories at their own head-quarters : but it is true also to say that the lack of Local Archive Centres and of Archivists was almost complete.

[1] One of so early a date as 1801 : see the summary of its predecessors' work in the *Third Report* (1919) of the Royal Commission (1910) on Public Records.

[2] See on this point below pp. 38 *seqq.*

[3] Something like 300 Societies whose publications are of interest to Historians were listed in *Supplement No.* 1 to the *Bulletin* of the Institute of Historical Research in 1930 ; and of these a large proportion undertake a certain amount of Record publication. In 1934 when the British Records Association organised an Exhibition of Record Publications issued in this way it was able to shew, for a period of five years only, 360 volumes.

The first step towards filling the second of these gaps was made when the Library Association included Palæography and Archive Science in the schedule of subjects for its diploma ; and soon after a School of Librarianship came into existence in London University which made these subjects part of its regular curriculum.[1] The service thus done by Librarians to Archive Science in England can hardly be exaggerated : they have the credit of being the first body to recognize the existence of the subject and make provision for its teaching. To describe all the other developments which have taken place during the period under review would again be too long a task : but I will venture to single out five events as representing well-marked stages of growth.

(i) *The publication (1919) of the 'Third Report' of the Royal Commission (1910) on Public Records.*

This Report dealt with Local Records and though the demands made by the Commission were, in the judgement of some, too sweeping, they have been the starting point for much that has been done since : and the Appendices to their Report assemble a very large amount of valuable information.

(ii) *The opening (1921) of the Institute of Historical Research in the University of London.*

This may be taken as marking the recognition of research upon documents, and particularly Archives, as in general an essential part of English graduate work in Medieval and Modern History.

(iii) *The issue (1923, 1924) of the present edition of the 'Guide to the ... Public Record Office,' by Mr. M. S. Giuseppi.*

I have dealt in Appendix I with this subject : the important point is that for the first time the Public Records were described officially on the basis of structure, not subject interest. Parallel to this was the preparation of a complete Catalogue of Official Means of Reference to the Records, arranged on the same plan : and it was followed (1933) by a new 'Summary of Records,' also in a parallel arrangement

[1] The present *Manual* was partly written as a text-book for Students of that School.

and with a complete set of numerical references to all classes. Other new pieces of organization which will be described below [1] are likewise in close relation to this development.

(iv) *The Amendment (1924) to Lord Birkenhead's Act of 1922.*

This Act, by abolishing copy-hold tenure, had destroyed the practical utility of *Manorial Court Rolls:* and fears were entertained for their safety. The Amendment, which put them under the charge and superintendence of the Master of the Rolls, set up for the first time a direct connexion between the Head of the Central Archive Establishment (the Public Record Office) and Local Records. Incidentally, it led to his official recognition of Local Repositories for every County in England ; whose work of conservation is already extending far beyond Manorial collections.[2]

(v) *The foundation (1932) of the British Records Association.*

This body, whose aim is to co-ordinate the work of all Institutions and Individuals interested in work upon Archives from any angle, has been so far very successful in enlisting the support of Local Authorities and other Institutions of all kinds ; and if it continues should ultimately be able to furnish on a voluntary basis something like the national organization of Archive work which in other Countries is statutorily provided.

It would be unwise to be too optimistic : we in England have a long way yet to go in arousing the interest of all Archive-owning Institutions, in assuring the creation of the necessary Repository space and the supply of trained Archivists, and in preventing meanwhile the destruction of documents. But undoubtedly we are at the moment on a rising tide of popular appreciation and general understanding of the value of Archives and of the existence of a special branch of learning dedicated to them. I hope I shall not be found presumptuous if I say that

[1] See pages 133–135.

[2] These Repositories are provided by Institutions of the most varied description—Archaeological and Historical Societies, Museums, Libraries and Local Authorities. The extent to which the last named, especially County Councils, are now opening their Muniment Rooms to non-official documents is both striking and symptomatic.

I have thought it worth while in these circumstances to keep in circulation what happens to be the only general treatise on the subject in English.

The changes which I have found it necessary to make should prevent any suspicion that I think I, or anyone else, can say the last word (save in the matter of principle) about what I know to be a developing science. My original plan was to reproduce most of the first edition photographically ; and though this has been abandoned the work retains its original form. On the other hand small changes have been made on every other page ; and certain parts have been re-written at much greater length—notably those dealing with the physical care of Archives (housing, repair, make-up, etc.) ; [1] those regarding arrangement and references ; [2] those concerning listing, calendaring, etc.; [3] the passages touching materials and documentary forms ; [4] and the Appendix on Classification.[5] I would also call attention to new matter regarding the Archivist's own Registers,[6] the question of Archive Quality,[7] and the Enemies of Archives.[8]

I have even more need now than in 1922 to acknowledge the help of colleagues and friends too numerous for individual mention : but I should like to associate still with my book the names of three former colleagues—Mr. M. S. Giuseppi, Mr. Charles Johnson and the late C. G. Crump. I should like also to add some tribute to the now considerable number of students—Librarians, Archivists and Historians—who have attended classes of mine and whose questions and interest have done more than they knew (but not more than I gratefully acknowledge) to direct my own enquiries.

HILARY JENKINSON.

Chelsea, 1937.

[1] Pp. 45–83 and App. III. [2] Pp. 115–117 and 121–123.
[3] Pp. 125–132. [4] Pp. 157–165. [5] Appendix I.
[6] Pp. 133–135. [7] Pp. 154, 155. [8] Appendix IV.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PART I

INTRODUCTORY

PAGE

1. General Introduction 1
2. What are Archives? 2

(*a*) The Official Character — (*b*) The Circumstances of Writing — (*c*) A Definition of Documents — (*d*) Archives Public and Private — (*e*) When Documents become Archives — (*f*) Custody.

3. Definition of Archives 11
4. Archive Quality and the Historical Criticism of Archives . . 11
5. The Duties of the Archivist 15
6. Illustration from English Archives 16
7. Standardization of Method 17
8. The original appearance and present reproduction of this Book 20
9. A new Problem: the Making of the Archives of the Future . 21
10. Summarizing 22

PART II

ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF ARCHIVES AND RULES FOR ARCHIVE KEEPING

1. The Evolution of Archives 23

(*a*) Primary Division of Archives — (*b*) Earliest Archives: the File — (*c*) Differentiation — (*d*) Differentiation, continued — (*e*) The varying careers of Archive Classes — (*f*) Differentiation of Archive Classes and the redistribution of duties among personnel — (*g*) Archives Ancient and Modern, Public and Private — (*h*) Order of Differentiation — (*i*) The Hands of former Archivists.

2. Transmission of Archives: the Question of Custody . . 32

(*a*) Where the Administration which produced the Archives continues to function — (*b*) Where a new Administration carries on the same Functions — (*c*) Where the Function ceases but the Administration goes on — (*d*) Where both Administration and Function cease — (*e*) Mixed cases — (*f*) Custody: what is a Responsible Person?

3. What is an Archivist? 38
4. Archives and Museums. 41
5. The Primary Duties of an Archivist:

(i) Physical Defence of Archives 44

(*a*) The Repository — (*b*) The Repository, continued — (*c*) The Repository: Provision of Accommodation for Students —

PAGE

(*d*) The Repository : General Plan — (*e*) The Repository : Internal Fitting and Packing — (*f*) The Make-up of Documents : Rolls ; Outsize Documents ; Loose Documents ; Volumes — (*g*) Handling and Damage — (*h*) Theft — (*i*) Misplacing — (*j*) Labels — (*k*) Repairs : Principles and Rules of Work ; Materials ; Methods of repairing Parchment and Paper — (*l*) Binding — (*m*) Seals — (*n*) Artificial Aids to Reading — (*o*) Special Dangers — (*p*) Archive Museums and Safe Rooms.

6. Primary Duties of the Archivist : (ii) Moral Defence of Archives 83
(*a*) Introductory — (*b*) Reception : Old Numeration and Lists : Order of Arrival — (*c*) Accession Numbers — (*d*) Original or early Files, &c. — (*e*) Stamping and Numbering : Methods and Rules — (*f*) Stamping and Numbering : the Accessions Register — (*g*) Stamping and Numbering : the Single Document ; the File or Volume ; the Enclosure, Schedule, or Insertion — (*h*) First Packing — (*i*) The Alteration of References — (*j*) The Archivist's Notes — (*k*) Archive Arrangement : its Object — (*l*) Arrangement : Chief Principle — (*m*) Arrangement : Procedure — (*n*) Arrangement : Slip-making — (*o*) Arrangement : the Vertical Divisions of Archives — (*p*) The 'Fonds' or Archive Group : Definition — (*q*) Where one series of Archives is divided between two Archive Groups — (*r*) Arrangement within the Archive Group : accepted theories and some difficulties — (*s*) Arrangement : another suggestion — (*t*) Arrangement : Class Headings — (*u*) Old Series, New Series, and Miscellanea — (*v*) The case of Archives misplaced or never arranged — (*w*) The Making of the Inventory — (*x*) Final Packing and Numeration — (*y*) The Making of the Inventory, continued — (*z*) Deposited Collections and Transcripts — (*aa*) Repository Lists — (*bb*) Catalogue of Indexes, etc.

7. The Archivist, the Administrator, and the Historian. . . . 123
8. Secondary Duties of the Archivist. 125
(*a*) The Guide — (*b*) Various Means of Reference to Archives — (*c*) The Archivist and the Editor — (*d*) The List — (*e*) The Descriptive List — (*f*) The Descriptive List, continued — (*g*) The Transcript, Calendar, etc. — (*h*) Conclusion.
9. References to Archives printed or used by Students . . . 132
10. The Archivist's own Registers 133

PART III

MODERN ARCHIVES

1. Introductory : old Archives and new Tendencies . . . 136
2. The General Practice with regard to Selection and Destruction . 138
3. Destruction : Grounds and Justification alleged . . . 139

PAGE

4. Destruction : the usual methods of selection for this purpose . 140
(*a*) Word for Word Duplicates — (*b*) Museum Specimens and Composite Classes — (*c*) Sense Duplicates — (*d*) Documents not considered to be of sufficient value to justify their preservation.
5. Destruction of Ancient Archives : who is to be responsible for it ? 145
6. Present provision for Destruction ; and the Future of Archives . 147
7. The Selection of Modern Archives 149
8. Summarizing 151
9. The work of the Archive Maker 152
10. The Golden Rule of Archive Making 152
11. Conclusion 154

PART IV

ARCHIVE MAKING

1. Introductory 156
2. Materials, Old and New 157
(*a*) Paper — (*b*) Paper, continued : recent Reports — (*c*) Paper, continued : Control of Use — (*d*) Inks — (*e*) Paints — (*f*) Typewriters — (*g*) Pencils — (*h*) Paper-fasteners — (*i*) Packing Materials and Methods — (*j*) New Materials — (*k*) New Forms.
3. New Methods of doing Business ; and their Appearance in Archives 166
(*a*) Conversations and Telephone Messages — (*b*) Copies of Dictated Letters and Telegrams — (*c*) Personal Letters — (*d*) General Results of the New Methods.
4. Indexes 169
5. Over-production of Documents 170
6. A Remedy : Re-introduction of Control 170
7. New Functions of the Registry 171
(*a*) Materials — (*b*) Methods employed — (*c*) Preservation and Destruction.
8. The Records of the Registry itself 173
(*a*) Accession of Documents — (*b*) Placing Documents and connecting them with others — (*c*) Description of Documents : Subject — (*d*) Description of Documents : Nature — (*e*) Distribution of Documents in the Office — (*f*) The Resulting Register : and Subsidiary Documents.
9. Minutes and Accounts 177
10. The Use of the Register 178
(*a*) Documents which may be destroyed immediately — (*b*) Cases reserved — (*c*) The Routine of Destruction — (*d*) Cases for Further Consideration — (*e*) Final disposal — (*f*) The limit of Current Use and the passing of Documents into Archives.

PAGE

11. Classes of Documents not registered; and some other considerations 184
(*a*) Minutes, Proceedings, and Accounts — (*b*) Separate Treatment of 'Annexed' Documents — (*c*) Confidential Documents — (*d*) Indexes and Subsidiary Documents of Registry.
12. The Staffing and Organization of Registry 187
13. Registry and the Archivist 189
14. Summary and Conclusion 190

APPENDICES

I. The Classification of Archives, with some mention of the Documentary Classes cited in this book 191

II. Sketch for a Bibliography of Archive Science . . . 198

III. Specifications: 205
(*a*) Racking and Shelving — (*b*) Boxes — (*c*) Trays to contain Fragile Documents — (*d*) Folders and Portfolios — (*e*) Filing Press and File Boards — (*f*) Repair of Bindings.

IV. Some Enemies of Manuscripts 218

V. Archive History: An Illustration 224
i. Archive History of the Exchequer of Receipt.
ii. Chart to illustrate Development of Periods of Issue.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Two works very frequently quoted in this Book are—

Muller, S.; Feith, J. A.; and Fruin, R. *Handleiding voor het ordenen en beschrijven van Archieven* . . . (Groningen : 1898) : quoted in the French Edition *Manuel pour l'arrangement et la description des Archives* . . . (La Haye : 1910); *and*

Royal Commission on Public Records (1910) *First, Second, and Third Reports* (London : 1912, 1914, 1919).

The first has been cited throughout as
Muller, Feith and Fruin;
the second is also abbreviated where there is no possibility of confusion.

PART I

INTRODUCTORY

§ 1. *General Introduction*

It is hardly necessary to say that History, as it is understood now, has become very largely dependent on Archives. New varieties have been added to it, Personal Narrative or Political History making way to some extent for Constitutional History, Legal History, Economic and Social History, and finally Administrative History ;[1] and it is possible that there may be others to come. This growth of scope has resulted largely from the opening up of new material and new possibilities by the recognition, especially towards the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries, of the value of Archive sources, and by the gradual process of making them available—physically available to those who can spend time in Archive Repositories and Muniment Rooms and available to all the world by printed List, Index, and Calendar. Preserved oral tradition, contemporary narrative, comment and criticism, personal memoirs, official or semi-official compilations —these will no doubt continue to hold a position, often very important, among the sources upon which the ultimate historian draws for his final synthesis of the facts about any given period, movement, crisis, or relation. But it is more than doubtful if any authoritative historical work will ever again be published without copious notes referring to verifiable manuscript sources ; and it has become a recognized fact that such a work must be preceded by and dependent on the cumulative

[1] At the time this book was written, the first two out of six volumes of the late Professor Tout's *Chapters in the Administrative History of Medieval England* had just been published—a marked stage in the development of the subject. Scattered studies on individual aspects of it are now exceedingly numerous: see for example Mr. A. B. Steel's Bibliography of about 150 concerning the medieval Exchequer, in *American Historical Review*, XXXIV (1929).

effect of a quantity of studies by other hands[1] in which settled opinion upon comparatively small points is based upon the laborious examination and analysis of details in Archives.

If this is so it is clear that some of us should be concerned with the keeping of the Archives of the past and perhaps with the making of the Archives of the future.

§ 2. *What are Archives?*

We are faced at once with the necessity of choosing a nomenclature and fixing a definition. With regard to the name, we have a choice between *Records* and *Archives*. The first of these is highly technical and narrow in its correct sense[2] and exceedingly loose in its ordinary usage. There is little doubt that we must adopt the second—*Archives*[3]—which has the advantage of being common to many languages. Yet this too rather lacks preciseness in its ordinary use: no less an authority than the Director of the French *Archives Nationales* has used[4] the word as excluding among ancient documents only 'les œuvres historiques, scientifiques et littéraires, qui ont leur place, non dans les archives, mais dans les bibliothèques'; and another distinguished French author makes the difference between Archives and documents mainly a matter of the

[1] 'The great man when he comes may fling a footnote of gratitude to those who have smoothed his way, who have saved his eyes and his time': F. W. Maitland on the spade-work of history, quoted in H. A. L. Fisher's *Biographical Sketch*, p. 36.

[2] 'An authentick and uncontravertable testimony in writing *contained in rolls of parchment and preserved in Courts of Record*,' is a typical definition. With this may be compared the carefully observed distinction (see below, App. V(i) (*k*)) between the *Clerk of the Pells* who *recorded* at the Exchequer of Receipt and the *Auditor* of the same Department who merely *entered*: this though the documents kept by the two might be duplicates. See also the statement made in the eighteenth century that an Office copy could not be made at the Treasury of the Receipt from the Archives of the Mint because these were not Records (Sir F. Palgrave, Antient Inventories and Kalendars . . . (1836), vol. i, p. cxi).

[3] The use of the word has a respectable antiquity in England: for example—Sir Thomas Smyth, *De Republica Anglie* (London, 1583), p. 53, calls the Master of the Rolls *Custos Archiuorum Regis*.

[4] Langlois et Stein, *Les Archives de l'Histoire de France*, p. 1. Cf. the same author's definition in the *Revue Internationale des Archives, des Bibliothèques et des Musées* (1895–6), Part I, p. 7: 'dépôts de titres et de documents authentiques de toute espèce qui intéressent un État, une province, une ville . . .', &c.

subject dealt with.[1] The *Oxford English Dictionary*, while deriving the word from the Greek ἀρχεῖον, which is explained as meaning a magisterial residence or public office, gives the meanings of the English word as (1) a place in which public records or other historic documents are kept; and (2) a historic record or document so preserved. Here the absence of any distinction between a ' historic record ' and a ' document ' does not appear to be altogether supported by the quotations given, and in any case we are rather left where we were in our quest for a definition. We shall perhaps do best, keeping the derivation of the word in mind, to make one for ourselves by comparing in some well-known case documents which are obviously Archives with others which are obviously not.

Thus in 1914 England broke off relations with Germany. The Historian of the future who desires to write an account of that historic fact will, we may assume, examine the written information contained in various ἀρχεῖα, in the offices, in fact, of the various Public Departments of the time. He will find that he can draw from the collections preserved for its own reference by the Foreign Office the official copies of the Treaties which had at various times been made between the nations concerned ; from the same source he will obtain the correspondence that had passed between Ambassadors and Secretaries of State ; the Admiralty and War Office will furnish Accounts, Reports, Returns and Copies of Orders and Memoranda accumulated in preparation for a possible war ; contemporary police arrangements will be revealed by a study of papers from the Home Office. These and their like are clearly Archive authorities for that historic fact, the Outbreak of War ; and the quality common to all of them is that they are actual material parts of the administrative and executive transactions connected with it. The historian, coming afterwards, may examine, interpret, analyse, and arrange them for the purposes

[1] A. Lelong, article on *Archives* in the *Répertoire Général alphabétique du Droit Français* (1889) vol. v, chap. 1 : cf. 3, § 4. Monsieur Joseph Cuvelier, in his *Rôle des Archives* (Brussels, 1911), instances other definitions, all very loose and all different: and Signor Eugenio Casanova in *Archivistica* (Siena, 1928) has contributed a new, specially Italian, version.

of his treatise : they themselves state no opinion, voice no conjecture ; they are simply written memorials, authenticated by the fact of their official preservation, of events which actually occurred and of which they themselves formed a part.

The Reports, more or less unofficial, of speeches which commented on the situation in the House of Commons, the leaders in *The Times*, the official *communiqués* set out in the Press, the memoirs of the German Chancellor—these are supplementary evidences, possibly valuable ; but they are not in any primary sense Archives.

On the one hand, therefore, we have documents which are material survivals of certain administrative or executive transactions in the past, preserved for their own reference by the responsible persons concerned : first-hand evidence, because they form an actual part of the *corpus*, of the facts of the case. On the other hand we have statements and expressions of opinion by persons who may, or may not, have been capable reasoners, in a position to know the facts, and unprejudiced. It is clear that if enough of the first class of these evidences survive and if he be able to appreciate their significance the Historian will have in them material for an exact statement of the historic facts. Given the opportunity he will probably use both classes because he will want to know not only the facts but the circumstances of the case ; but the first is indispensable.

(*a*) *The Official Character.* We have thus reached the first stage of our definition. Archives are *documents which formed part of an official transaction and were preserved for official reference.*

(*b*) *The circumstances of writing.* But now let us take a step farther. We excluded from the ranks of the Archives a copy of *The Times*. But this is not to say that *The Times* or any other written or printed expression of opinion may not under certain circumstances be included among Archives. For example, we may imagine a copy of *The Times* filed in the Foreign Office, with a note that the Secretary of State wishes copies (with or without correction) to be dispatched with covering letter to certain British Ambassadors : such a copy

would of course form an evidence of the activities of the Foreign Office in a certain direction.[1] It would seem, therefore, that our definition must include *both documents specially made for, and documents included in,*[2] *an official transaction.*

(*c*) *A definition of Documents.* It will be noticed that printed matter has become, incidentally, included among our Archives. The fact is that in modern times the word document, which we use in default of a better, is very difficult to define ; and at any time the line between Documents and what are known in English Law as Exhibits [3] is an uneasy one to draw. Thus we cannot say that a document is something which gives information in writing ; for the Record Office series of Port Books gives us examples where the mere formal title, or other identification mark on the cover, converts an absolutely blank book into a perfectly good Archive :[4] we cannot rule that to come into our purview a piece of printed matter must have some MS. added or attached ; for the official copies of printed 'Acts' among the Records of the Colonial Office (not to speak of printed Proclamations [5] among the State Papers) are equally authenticated by the absence as by the addition of MS. comments. Again there is a case where an undoubted Archive consists of an old pair of military epaulettes ; and among

[1] The distinction between the ordinary copy of the paper and one thus preserved in Foreign Office Archives may be seen if we imagine the comment of the Historian : ' the direction taken by popular feeling is clearly shown in an article which appeared in *The Times* on this date . . . that the Government was anxious to take full advantage of this is evidenced by the fact that the Foreign Secretary thought it worth while to forward a copy . . . '.

[2] We need hardly say that these partake of the character of Archives only as from the time when official use was made of them. Thus a document may be itself of the twelfth century but as an Archive date from the twentieth : cf. below (pp. 102, 115) Part II, § 6 (*q*) and (*x*).

[3] The word Exhibit itself originally refers to documents, and the *Oxford Dictionary*, which quotes a use in this sense in 1626 (cf. its use in a statute of 14 Charles II), can only produce a quotation of 1888 for its use in the sense of material objects other than writings.

[4] *K. R., Port Books* : these blank books are a substitute for the more usual ' *nil* return '.

[5] For example those which occur among the *State Papers Henry VIII* in the Record Office, many of which are known in unofficial copies in private collections such as that of the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres.

enclosures to letters, forming in each case an integral part of the document, the writer can recall portraits and other pictures, maps,[1] human hair, whip-cord (part of a cat-o'-nine-tails), a penny piece inscribed with disloyal sentiments and a packet of strange powder destined to cure cancer. The line between what is and what is not, by a little writing added or attached to it, converted into a document is one so difficult to draw, and the question of separating enclosed objects from the document to which they belong raises so many difficulties and objections, that probably our best course is to be dogmatic ; including under ' Documents ' for the purposes of our definition (i.e. as things admissible to the class of Archives) *all manuscript in whatever materials*[2] *made, all script produced by writing machines, and all script mechanically reproduced*[3] *by means of type, type-blocks and engraved plates or blocks :*[4] adding to these *all other material evidences, whether or no they include alphabetical or numerical signs, which form part of or are annexed to, or may be*

[1] Maps or Plans are among the most usual things enclosed in or annexed to documents, and examples might be cited from many classes of Public Records both ancient and modern, but especially such Archives as those of the Colonial Office and Treasury and the State Papers. To give only one instance, examples of printed maps of America, dated 1763, which have been applied to special uses and now form part of the Archives of the Treasury, will be found in T. 1/476.

[2] The Public Record Office collections alone oblige us to include parchment, vellum, paper, paper- and card-boards, leather of various kinds, wood, and varieties of woven material.

[3] For some notes upon the entry of printed matter into Administrative use in England see a paper on *English Current Writing and Early Printing* in the *Transactions* of the Bibliographical Society for 1915.

[4] Examples of Archives in type have already been given. Type-block is the term usually employed of printed letters as reproduced in the Elizabethan and later Writing Masters' Books. The writer has noted no instance of the use of such blocks amongst Archives, but it might quite well occur. The word ' engraved ' is intended here to include all kinds of modern photographic processes in which engraving by acid is employed : but early examples of the use of tool-engraved plates for Archive purposes can be found ; for example amongst *Bishops' Certificates of Institutions to Benefices* of the eighteenth century (e.g. Bishop's Cert. Bristol 25 : which may be compared with contemporary MS. examples) and in early nineteenth-century forms used by the Commissioners of the Treasury in addressing the officers of the Exchequer of Receipt, by the War Office (e.g. in W. O. 25, 745) for Returns of Officers' Services, and so forth. Engraved titles and headings are not uncommon in the eighteenth century. Modern photographic process reproductions are common amongst the Copyright Records in the Public Record Office, but these are generally cases of ' annexing '.

reasonably assumed to have formed part of or been annexed to, specific documents thus defined.

We differ here slightly from the Continental Authorities who, in their definition of Archives, include maps and plans and the like, but make no mention of the case of blank books or of material evidences annexed, even fastened, to documents : they prefer, indeed, to separate these last and relegate them to Museums, a procedure to which we object because it cannot be carried out to its logical conclusion in all cases without damage to Archives or Archive quality.[1] We use of course the word 'annexed' literally as meaning something of a size to be fastened to or conveniently associated with the document to which it belongs. The distinction between what can and cannot be ' annexed ' to a document is like all fine distinctions, difficult. Its particular difficulty may perhaps be illustrated best by a *reductio ad absurdum.* Supposing for example that a Viceroy sends home to the Secretary of State in England an elephant with a suitable covering-note or label ; or supposing, to take a more actual example, that the Government of a Colony presents to the First Commissioner of Works in London a two-hundred-foot spar of Douglas Pine : the question may be imagined to arise : Is the spar ' annexed ' to correspondence with the Government of British Columbia ? Is the elephant attached to the label or the label to the elephant ?

The answer to those who would put this dilemma to us in the present connexion is that the Administration would be obliged in all such cases to solve the question of housing—to send the spar to Kew Gardens or the elephant to the Zoo—long before the label or letter comes into charge of the Archivist:[2] the problem is an Administrative, not an Archive one.

(*d*) *Archives Public and Private.* But we have not yet done with our copy of *The Times.* Let us consider the case of an authenticated copy of that paper filed not in the Foreign Office

[1] It is quite opposed to the spirit of the rule (approved by all Continental authorities) which bases all modern arrangement of Archives upon that of their original compilers—the *ordre primitif* : see below, Part II, § 6 (*r*).

[2] See below, the section dealing with the point at which his duties begin.

but in the Office of the Newspaper itself. This is obviously part of the Archives of the Paper. It is true that it proves no more than that *The Times* was published on a certain day and contained certain statements : but its archive quality is exactly the same as that of the Treaty Paper preserved in the Foreign Office ; it is as incontrovertible evidence for the History of Journalism as is the Foreign Office paper for the History of our Diplomatic Relations. It seems then that Archives as a term must be extended to *collections made by private or semi-private bodies or persons, acting in their official or business capacities.*[1] Local Authorities, Commercial Firms, the responsible Heads of any undertakings may, probably will, leave behind them Archives. Many, to quote a distinguished Belgian Archivist, do so as Monsieur Jourdain wrote prose.

(*e*) *When Documents become Archives.* We are progressing with our definition but we have not yet finished. It is clear that documents written in and for any ' Office ' are, from the time of their writing, ' Official ' documents and that others of external origin (letters received, for example) become ' Official ' as soon as they are taken in for ' Office ' purposes. But we have not yet decided the point at which Letters or Memoranda cease to be *Office Files* and become *Archives.* Perhaps on account of a false derivation[2] the test of Archive quality has been generally taken to be that of age ; but a more satisfactory limitation would probably be the point at which, having ceased to be in current use,[3] they are definitely set aside for preservation,

[1] The word is also understood as including the documentary collections of private persons by Muller, Feith, and Fruin (§ 1) and by Langlois (article in the *Revue Internationale des Archives* . . . , quoted above) : cf. Mr. Gilson's notice of Mr. Johnson's book in *History*, April 1920, p. 42. Indeed the use goes back so far as to the remarkable Ministerial Circular of April 16, 1841, quoted by Bordier, *Les Archives de la France* (Paris, 1855), p. 8.

An interesting example of the formality ascribed to the keeping of private (family) archives in England in quite early times is supplied by the use of the formal word *irrotulatur* in a note in an *Inquisition post mortem* (37 Edward III, First Numbers, 98) ' et sic dies obitus eiusdem irrotulatur in Psalterio apud Midhurst ' : the entry in the family bible was, quite rightly, considered as an archive.

[2] The Greek word is ἀρχεῖον not ἀρχαῖον.

[3] Not necessarily ceased to be in use altogether. There are plenty of cases where documents have been drawn into the administrative circle again after a century or more of idleness : for example, see below (p. 33), Part II, § 2 (*a*), *note.*

tacitly adjudged worthy of being kept. Unfortunately the time at which this occurs must obviously vary with circumstances. The closest definition, therefore, that we can use in this matter is to say that the documents are *set aside for preservation in official custody*.

(*f*) *Custody*. The last point needs perhaps a little extension. Indeed we shall do well to stress it, for it is upon this question of custody that English Archives and Archive practice may make some real contribution to the sum of Archive Science. How distinctive the question of custody is may be seen by contrasting the English *Deputy Keeper's Reports*, with their chronicle of severely official accretions, with the *accroissements* by gift and by purchase which occupy so many pages in the *Annuaire* of the Belgian State Archives.[1]

Are all documents which owe their preservation to an administrative or official quality in their origin Archives? Are the Additional Charters, for example, in the British Museum, the cream of so many private collections—are these Archives? they certainly were so at one stage of their existence: or are they to be condemned because they have slipped from that official custody? And what of the numerous collections of State Papers in private hands?[2] When the head of a London business firm buys in the sale-room a quantity of the Medici papers,[3] exported from Italy for the purpose, are these Archives? If the modern purchaser of an estate, finding himself also the purchaser of documents, presents a number of accounts, with wooden tallies attached, to an Anthropological Museum,[4] are these Archives? and if all these are Archives, whose Archives

[1] Compare, for example, the interesting *Archives de l'Etat en Belgique pendant la guerre, 1914-1918*, published under the direction of M. Joseph Cuvelier, with the 79th–81st *Reports of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records*.

[2] See below, Part II, § 2 (*e*).

[3] Some of these documents, to which Mr. Selfridge, who bought them in London, was good enough to allow me access, certainly at one time formed part of the Medici Archives. They are now in America.

[4] The Science Museum at South Kensington possesses the only complete Exchequer Tally (stock and foil together) that I have seen. Tally Stocks in the Bank of England and similar institutions are still there in an Archive capacity: but stray examples (Exchequer and Private) may be found in Public Museums and Libraries (e. g. the Reference Library at Birmingham) and in private collections all over the country.

are they? if they are not, at what stage did they cease to possess that quality?

The position of *Records* of the Common Law in England may help here to clear our conceptions. There are many series of Public Records, preserved at the Public Record Office in London, of which certain numbers have escaped through various vicissitudes in the past into various private or public collections, such as the British Museum.[1] Now a certified copy from one of the main body of these in the Record Office would be received in any Court of Law as evidence of the transactions it records: for one in the British Museum to receive the same credence would involve almost certainly the production of the actual document in Court and certainly its support by a body of expert testimony to its authenticity. The echo of this legal point in a literary or historical setting may be seen in the case of the well-known volume,[2] part of the Accounts of the Master of the Revels, which was for a considerable time in the possession of the antiquary Peter Cunningham though it has long since been restored to official custody. No certified copy from this document is given by the Record Office without a statement of the above fact in its history and those interested in Shakespearian chronology are still disputing [3] (and unless some new external evidence is discovered will continue always to dispute) whether the entries on one page are or are not an interpolation by Cunningham. So great is the value of custody that the constant effort of private forgers in all periods has been to get copies of their forgeries enrolled in some public series, because they knew that the authenticity of the enrolment would never be called in question[4] and hoped that by a confusion of ideas the

[1] Examples are given below (Part IV, § 11, *note*) of State Papers which have suffered in this way. Here we may quote the recently discovered case of original Papal Bulls formerly preserved in the Exchequer of Receipt and calendared there by Stapleton in 1323 (see Part II, § 1 (*c*), *note*) which are now in the British Museum.

[2] *Audit Office* 3/908, No. 13.

[3] Modern controversy on this question was opened by Ernest Law's *Some supposed Shakespearean Forgeries* in 1911. The latest contributions to a series of exchanges on the subject are S. A. Tannenbaum, *Shakspere Forgeries in the Revels Accounts* (New York, 1928) and A. E. Stamp, *The Disputed Revels Accounts* (Oxford, 1930).

[4] Compare the forgeries of early Royal Charters enrolled upon the later *Charter*

thing enrolled would pass uncriticized. As will appear later,[1] we do not wish to press for a purely legal definition of custody; but the above examples make it clear that Archive quality is dependent upon the possibility of proving *an unblemished line of responsible custodians.*[2]

§ 3. *Definition of Archives*

We may now attempt a definition which shall cover all the possibilities mentioned above. First we have defined a document as covering for our purpose manuscript, type-script, and printed matter, with any other material evidence which forms part of it or is annexed to it. A document which may be said to belong to the class of Archives is one which *was drawn up or used in the course of an administrative or executive transaction (whether public or private) of which itself formed a part; and subsequently preserved in their own custody for their own information by the person or persons responsible for that transaction and their legitimate successors.*

To this Definition we may add a corollary. Archives were not drawn up in the interest or for the information of Posterity.

§ 4. *Archive Quality and the Historical Criticism of Archives*

Outside this definition we have nothing but plain documents—pieces of written evidence each one of which must be

Rolls, e. g. the Charter to Wikes Priory, the two originals of which (quoted in the present writer's *Palaeography and the Study of Court Hand*), whether or no they were prepared at the time of the confirmation of one of them by Edward III, are certainly not authentic productions of Henry II's Chancery. Another remarkable case in point is the document, now in the possession of Sir Thomas Barrett Lennard, Bart., which purports to give the arbitrement of Edward IV, under his sign manual and privy seal, in the case of the Dacre Barony, or Baronies; and which was enrolled in Chancery, not without scrutiny, in the reign of Elizabeth. Had this been one of the Writs of Privy Seal addressed to the Chancery, and preserved among the Records of that Office, its authenticity would have been unquestioned; whereas its authority, upon a point of some importance in relation to Barony *jure uxoris*, depends upon external criticism of its writing and so forth: the Privy Seal Office itself did not keep an enrolment or register (at least none has survived) against which such writs might be checked. I am indebted to Mr. H. A. Doubleday for this example.

[1] See below, Part II, § 2 (*f*).

[2] On the subject of Forgery, see again § 4 below.

treated upon its individual merits by the Historian or other student who would use it for his own purposes. Inside it, we are dealing with an enormous mass of documents which, however varied their origin and contents and the appeal which they make to students, however far apart their respective dates, have at least two common grounds upon which they can be analysed and tested, two common features of extraordinary value and importance.

The first of these features is *Impartiality*. Drawn up for purposes almost infinitely varying—the administrative or executive control of every species of human undertaking—they are potentially useful to students for the information they can give on a range of subjects totally different but equally wide : the only safe prediction, in fact, concerning the Research ends which Archives may be made to serve is that with one partial exception these will not be the purposes which were contemplated by the people by whom the Archives were drawn up and preserved. The single partly exceptional case is the one where they are examined for the light they throw upon the history of one branch or another of public or private Administration—the branch to which they themselves belonged. Provided,[1] then, that the student understands their administrative significance they cannot tell him anything but the truth.

Impartiality is a gift which results from the first part of our definition of Archives. In the second part of that definition we stated that Archives were preserved in official custody and for official information only ; and this gives us the second of their distinguishing qualities, *Authenticity*. It would appear that not only are Archives by their origin free from the suspicion of prejudice in regard to the interests in which we now use them : they are also by reason of their subsequent history

[1] The proviso is, of course, sometimes a large one. For example, the series of *Receipt Rolls* of the Exchequer at the Public Record Office has more than once been used by students under the impression that they furnished a complete and accurately reckoned list of moneys received by the Crown : whereas they were in fact inaccurate and incomplete and at certain periods did not represent receipts. See the article on Tallies in *Archaeologia*, lxii, p. 367 ; and continuations in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, second series, xxv, p. 34, and *Archaeologia*, lxxiv, p. 289.

equally free from the suspicion of having been tampered with in those interests.

The consideration of these qualities of Archives leads us on to that of the Historical Criticism of Documents [1] in general. One or two special Archive points may conveniently be dealt with here.

In the first place, the possibility of forgery in the literary or historical interest may be practically ruled out : we have seen one example, or alleged example, it is true :[2] but forgery of this kind could not be of anything save the rarest occurrence, for it means that custody has been broken with the deliberate intention of falsification ; and that this has happened in comparatively recent times—in the case of many historical interests which are of modern growth one might say in very recent times—and without the custodians becoming aware of it.

It is not to be supposed of course that forgeries of other kinds do not occur among documents which have come down to us in custody. They do ; both actual fabrications of documents and cases where documents have been tampered with after the date of their writing in the way either of *suppressio veri* or *suggestio falsi* : indeed we have already had some examples ;[3] and plenty of others might be found—forged Tallies,[4] forged Fines [5] and other forgeries, some of them discovered in their own day, some which it has been reserved for modern scholarship to detect.

Now, from the point of view of their writing there are, as

[1] My original intention had been to develop this at more length in an Appendix with special reference to Archives : but the publication of Mr. R. L. Marshall's *Historical Criticism of Documents :* (S.P.C.K., *Helps for Students of History*, 1920) which puts within the reach of all students a convenient *résumé* of the conclusions of Bernheim, Freeman, Seignobos, and others, made this unnecessary ; especially as we should have been mainly concerned to point out that most of the critical tests usually applied to historical documents are not, in view of the qualities described above, required in the case of Archives.

[2] The alleged Cunningham forgery referred to above, § 2.

[3] Cf. *ibid.*, the reference to forgery of Royal Charters.

[4] See an article in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, second series, vol. xxv, p. 34 : an example communicated to me by the late Professor Willard is in *Exchequer L. T. R. Memoranda Roll*, 69 (1297), m. 32.

[5] See Mr. H. G. Richardson in *English Hist. Rev.*, vol. xxxv (1920), p. 405.

we have seen, two kinds of Archives ; those actually written by the persons who used them for the same administrative purposes which have caused them to be preserved down to our time, and those which were indeed used by those persons, have perhaps even come down to us in a copy by their hands, but which were written originally by some other persons and possibly in some other interest. In the case of the first of these classes we may once more practically rule out the possibility of forgery : the persons who wrote did so for their own reference and what motive could they have for deceit ? It is true that we have cases where, as in the two examples of forged Fines quoted by Mr. Richardson, custody has been violated and forged documents inserted in a genuine series by persons from without ; but these are altogether exceptional —it is noteworthy that both were speedily discovered and on the other hand that this class, perhaps the most commonly used of all Public Records, has yielded no other case of forgery to the examination of modern scholarship. In any case, given an unbroken custody, the possibility of forgery is practically *nil*.

Turning to the other kind of Archives, that of documents written originally by one person or body and preserved by another, we have not of course the same guarantee against forgery or tampering, because there are now two sides involved and either may have a motive for deceiving the other. Thus A., the body which preserved and was the means of the Archive coming down to us, may wish to foist upon B. the responsibility for a document purporting to be written by B. but really fabricated or garbled by A. : for example, the owner of a collection of deeds from other persons may quite well insert amongst them one forged by himself.[1]

On the other hand A. may have foisted upon it by B.

[1] To take again the example of the Fine, which was an Indenture made in triplicate, though it is, as we have said, so rare as to be almost impossible for a forgery to occur among the *Feet* (the parts of it preserved in the *Court of Common Pleas*), there were no doubt plenty of pretended second or third parts of a fine—forgeries—preserved in private collections (cp. again Mr. Richardson's article) ready to be used on any occasion when appeal was not likely to be made to the official series.

a document which is not genuine and may innocently accept it and include it among its own Archives. We have seen already the case where forgeries of Royal Charters were presented to the Chancery for confirmation, accepted by it and preserved to us both as originals[1] and in copies by its own hand on the *Charter Roll*.

Summarizing, we may repeat that forgery or falsification is to be regarded as altogether exceptional among Archives. It is only to be expected (1) in the rare case where custody has been violated though the fact is not known, (2) where the Archive in question is not a single production but is of the kind made by one person or body and preserved by another. In such cases it is always open to the critic to ask if either party had any interest in deceiving the other. At the same time we are to remember that both parties had an interest in detecting each other's malpractices; and that neither had any interest in deceiving us.

§ 5. *The Duties of the Archivist*

The duties of the Archivist, as it is one of the chief functions of this volume to point out, become under these circumstances very obvious, at least in their main lines. They are primary and secondary. In the first place he has to take all possible precautions for the safeguarding of his Archives and for their custody, which is the safeguarding of their essential qualities. *Subject to the discharge of these duties* he has in the second place to provide to the best of his ability for the needs of historians and other research workers. But *the position of primary and secondary must not be reversed.*[2]

It is not his business to deal with questions of policy—to decide whether twenty thousand pounds, or one thousand or

[1] All early charters copied in confirmation have to be subjected to careful criticism owing to the ignorance of the clerks who copied them : cp. the case of the Wikes Charters already quoted. Compare also Ballard, *An Eleventh Century Inquisition* . . . (British Academy, *Records of Social and Economic History* . . . , vol. iv (1920), p. ix, where the ignorance of the Norman clerks of Domesday is illustrated.

[2] Cp. Muller, Feith, and Fruin, § 19. We deal with these duties in detail in Part II, especially §§ 3 and 5–9.

nothing should be spent on printing transcripts of his Archives ; whether the student would be best served by having the Archives in a Metropolis, or in the Provinces ; at what date modern ' confidential ' Archives should be thrown open to the public. He will doubtless take an intelligent interest in such subjects, but as an Archivist he is not concerned with them : they are questions for Historians, Politicians, Administrators ; whom, at most, he may advise.

We touch this point again later when dealing with the Secondary Duties of the Archivist.[1]

§ 6. *Illustration from English Archives*

If the duties of the Archivist are simple in broad outline they are by no means so in detail ; and he can very easily by a very small ignorance do incalculable damage. It is therefore highly important that he should be supported by a theory based on the widest possible experience ; and it is a distinct lack that England, a country which, by reason of its unrevolutionary history and conservative habits and in spite of a long period of neglectfulness, has preserved a greater number of long and continuous Archive series than any other in Europe, should have made up to the present so small a contribution to the Science of Archives. An official pamphlet published in America though in English does not refer to English Archives.[2] With the exception of Mr. Charles Johnson[3]

[1] See below, Part II, § 8.

[2] *Note on the Care, Cataloguing, Calendaring and Arranging of Manuscripts*, published by the Library of Congress (3rd ed., Washington, 1934). The connexion in which this pamphlet is published gives it naturally so much prestige that I feel bound to remark that among many excellent precepts it contains (especially in the part devoted to *Arrangement* but also, e. g., under *Repairing*) some suggestions which are contrary to the experience and rules of Archivists in many countries. The writer, though he uses the words ' Archival ' and ' Archivist ' frequently, does not distinguish satisfactorily between *Manuscripts* and *Archives* : and for the latter some of his proposals, such as that of sortation by ' less expert hands ' (p. 5) would be definitely dangerous.

[3] *The Care of Documents* (S.P.C.K., *Helps for Students of History*, No. 5). I have excluded the *Reports* of the Royal Commission of 1910 because they deal rather with special cases than with general principles and are concerned more with national Archive policy than with practical rules for Archive keeping : though the existence of such rules may often be inferred from their recommendations.

(and his work is limited by its format[1]) no one has yet attempted to draw from the extraordinarily wide field of English Administrative History and Administrative Remains anything like a complete body of illustration of general Archive theory and practice. And the present[2] seems a favourable time for an attempt to fill this gap.

As we propose to illustrate throughout from English Archives we shall need for reference purposes a *Conspectus* of the Divisions of Administrative Documents, Public and Private, in England. This will be found in Appendix I at the end of the present volume: but recent publications have made possible some modifications of its original form.

§ 7. *Standardization of Method*

We have been concerned so far to show that, within certain strictly defined limits, the word *Archives* is one of very general applicability. The circumstances which produce Archives being common and commonly recurrent in administration in all countries, and in all grades of administration, from the most private to the most public, it would seem, at first, easy to secure an advantageous standardization of all rules, great and small, for dealing with all Archives: some Authorities have aimed even at a standardization of terminology and of such small matters as the ways of expressing dates in inventories. This has been the aim of the learned authors of the *Manuel pour le Classement des Archives*,[3] and they have been so far successful that their work is the recognized authority in more

[1] It runs to only 47 pages. Since this passage was written the Chairman of the Bedfordshire County Council Records Committee, Dr. G. H. Fowler, has published a very valuable work on *the Care of County Muniments* (1923 : 2nd ed. 1928) dealing in some 80 pages with the problems particularly affecting a County Archivist.

[2] When this book first appeared the last of the three *Reports* of the Royal Commission (1910) on Public Records, with their valuable Appendices, had recently been published : and I was able to note also ' the much increased attention now given in this country to Librarianship and the inclusion of Archive Science in that subject '. The remarkable further development of interest in Archives since 1922 is dealt with in the Preface to the present re-issue.

[3] Muller, Feith, and Fruin formulate one hundred rules for classing and arrangement, each supplied with a considerable amount of illustrative matter drawn from the Archives of Holland, Belgium or France.

than one country besides their own. It may be questioned, however, whether quite so rigid an application of principle is desirable, or at any rate possible, in all cases. They themselves, for example, have called attention [1] to the profound difference between Continental and English Archives caused by the absence in England of the disruptive and again assimilative influence of the French Revolution and of the circumstances which attended it at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries (the most formative period in modern Archive history) ; and even in the case of the countries for which they particularly legislated they have found it necessary to recognize that compromise may in certain circumstances be desirable or even necessary. And there are other difficulties : in most countries (in France, for example, as well as in England) [2] the old methods of arranging and classifying have left their mark—a mark differing in different cases but unlikely in any case ever to be entirely effaced : again profound differences in methods of administration,[3] reacting upon the Records which survive, must have some influence upon nomenclature and perhaps even on arrangement : and the same may be said of different systems of Archive organization at the present day.[4] Similarly between us and any complete standardization there rises, among other difficulties, the great bar of language : who shall translate satisfactorily into English, for example, the word *fonds* ? and can we really, as a matter of practical policy, import into English Archive practice the distinction implied by the use of the word *protocol* ?

On the other hand the few great principles which have governed and must govern the making, and should therefore govern also the classification, handling and use, of Archives

[1] Muller, Feith, and Fruin, § 36.

[2] The *Archives Nationales* still retain many traces of their old arrangement under subjects.

[3] The contrast between English Law and the various representatives of Roman Law is an obvious instance.

[4] The enormous number of authorities that control archive collections of a more or less public character in England at the present day, as shown by the late Commission's *Reports*, forms a good illustration of this point when compared with the centralized Archive Administration of (for example) Holland or Belgium.

cannot but be the same everywhere. It has seemed best, therefore, to the present writer to allow these leading principles and their corollaries to emerge from an independent examination into the nature,[1] the evolution,[2] and the stages in transmission [3] of Archives as they may be traced in this country, and, without any attempt at the formulation of rules which should cover all individual cases, to show how the same large principles may be applied, invariably, as criteria of correct procedure not only in the matters of arrangement and classification but upon any and every side of the Archivist's work—in his care for the physical state of his documents, his preservation of their moral qualities as Archives, his methods of listing, his procedure in calendaring and printing, his communications with the world of Research, and one other matter which is dealt with in sections 8 and 9 of this Part. In one or two cases (notably the question of custody to which reference has already been made) the result may be to lead us away from the conclusions of the Authorities of the Foreign School;[4] and we may find ourselves dealing with certain matters which they have not considered. For the most part, however, our view should be the same as theirs though taken from a different angle. And if the Archivist is here provided with a general guide rather than a detailed set of rules at least we should be sure that no theories are enunciated which are not applicable to Archive work in any country, nor on the other hand any first principles omitted. In most sciences and arts it will be found that special cases can be satisfactorily met by any one who combines a sound theory with ordinary common sense and both with practical experience. It is that combination that we wish to commend to the Archivist.[5]

[1] See above, §§ 2, 3, and 4, the definition of Archive qualities.

[2] See below, Part II, § 1.

[3] *Ibid.*, §§ 2 and 3.

[4] Where such differences occur they are generally indicated in the text or in footnotes.

[5] I had written the larger part of this work when my attention was called to the 'tentative outline' for a Manual of Archive Management contributed by Mr. Victor Palsits to the *Report of the Archives Commission* of the American Historical Association for 1913–14; published during the War this excellent scheme had

§ 8. *The original appearance and present reproduction of this Book*

My reasons for the re-issue of this Manual have been set out in the *Preface*. When it first appeared in 1922, in company with a number of Economic Studies relating to the War Period, I wrote under this heading as follows:—

> The practical side of historical study has been much emphasized by the events of the last five years. From the naval strategy of Great Britain at the beginning of the War to the work, largely historical, which preceded the Peace Conference at the end of it, few important branches of war-time administration, whether on the military or the civil side, have been without a trace of the activities of the Historian; and certainly none have omitted to bring themselves into that position with regard to History which is implied in the amassing of Archives. In England some Public Departments have gone farther and have experimented in the production of something more than the customary Blue Book. For the War Office and Admiralty to issue their own versions of the Military and Naval History of a war is no new thing; but the compilation by the Ministry of Munitions of an elaborate Economic Treatise, in the shape of its own History drawn from its own Archives, is distinctly a departure. Such activities reflect the addition of a new series of Archive problems to the already considerable number which faced us. The fact is that the enormous stock of fresh experience which has been accumulated during the War and which will be material for the work of the future historian, not to mention students in other branches of learning, is hidden in a mass of documents so colossal that the question of their housing alone (apart from those of their handling, sifting and use) presents quite novel features.[1] Nor is bulk the only problem.
>
> The questions raised already by the introduction into administration of new methods of communication and of recording (the telephone, for example, and the typewriter) become now pressing. In fine, it is largely the addition of this abnormal mass of new Archive matter to our existing collections which compels us to face the fact that we must make at any rate a beginning of settling our Archive problems, old and new, if we are to deal satisfactorily with the present and safeguard the future of research work.

escaped my notice. A manual completed on the lines there laid down should contain, when it is issued, a large amount of what the Archivist requires in the way of suggestion and precept. But I still venture to hope that the present book, based on those Archives which have inspired the work of so many American scholars, may be found to contain a point of view and illustrations worthy of some attention.

[1] The Royal Commission (*Third Report*, vol. i, p. 38: cp. *ibid.*, vol. ii, pp. 120 *et seqq.*) estimated that the bulk was as large as that of the total previous contents of the Public Record Office.

After fourteen years I have little to add to the above except that the problem of *Bulk in Modern Archives* is proving in the case of the Archives of Central Administration certainly no less serious than I anticipated [1] and that one result of a gratifying increase in the attention bestowed by Local Authorities on their Archives is to shew that the same difficulty is being or will have to be faced in every centre of Administration in the Country. Nor, of course, is the problem one which is confined to England.[2]

§ 9. *A new Problem : the Making of the Archives of the Future*

The chief claim made for this work when it was first issued was that it purposed to raise at least one new question in Archive Science ; one which had up to then been little considered and for the forcing of which upon our attention these impossibly bulky War Archives were largely responsible. The question was that of the making of the Archives of the future :[3] and the post-War years have only served to emphasize it. Can we, faced with these modern accumulations, leave any longer to chance the question what Archives are to be preserved ? Can we on the other hand attempt to regulate them without destroying that precious characteristic of impartiality which results, in the case of the older Archives, from the very fact that their preservation was settled either by pure chance or at least by considerations which did not include the possible requirements of future Historians ? There is considerable danger that a periodical compilation made by an office from its own Archives *definitely for historical purposes* [4]—even for publication —may come to be treated, by the uncritical historian, not as

[1] It has engaged the attention of an inter-departmental Committee and been the subject of Official consideration in more than one connexion.

[2] In the United States National Archives the ' accumulation rate ' of public documents has been estimated at as much as 200,000 cubic feet per annum.

[3] Some indication of the existence of this problem appeared in an article in the *London Mercury* in April 1920.

[4] On the lines of the larger work which, as we have mentioned above, was compiled at the Ministry of Munitions. Note that what is here said does not apply to a Summary or Digest made for Office purposes. The distinction is a delicate one but of extreme

a guide, but as an efficient substitute for the Archives themselves. Can we prevent this and at the same time neutralize the threat of hopeless unwieldiness? If we can do something to solve this problem, which, by the way, is not entirely a new one though presented to us now in a new light, we shall have done something to earn the gratitude of future research workers.

§ 10. *Summarizing*

The first aim of this book must, it seems, be twofold. It is required to lay down in outline a plan of our duties to the Archives which have been left to us by the past; a plan which shall be conditioned entirely by their own fundamental characteristics. From this first process we are to draw certain general principles of Archive values which we may attempt to apply to a new problem—the direction, without altering their Archive character, of the formation of the Archives of the future. Towards this end we have gone some distance by defining the word *Archives* and deducing from that definition certain ideas as to *Archive Quality*.[1]

importance. See below, Part IV, § 12, the discussion of the character of the Register in a modern office. Of course the copy of an officially compiled History which is filed for Record purposes becomes itself an Archive from the time of filing: it is evidence that a certain Historical View was officially put forward; but not evidence of the Historic Facts.

[1] Above, §§ 2, 3, and 4.

PART II

ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF ARCHIVES AND RULES FOR ARCHIVE KEEPING

§ 1. *The Evolution of Archives*

(*a*) *Primary Division of Archives.* The starting-point of the compilation of Archives in early times is an easy thing to imagine or even in the case of ancient collections to see in action. The official or responsible person—let us call him the Administrator—who has to preside over any continuous series of business functions, the manager of a small estate at one end of the scale, the controller of a kingdom's finances at the other, relies for the support of his authority on memory : so soon as writing becomes general in use he adopts the preservation of pieces of writing as a convenient form of artificial memory ; and in doing so starts a collection of Archives. He avails himself of this convenience by preserving

the *originals* of written instructions or information he has *received* ;

copies of similar documents which he has *issued;*

and

memoranda (a diary as it were) of his own *proceedings.*

All Archives must necessarily fall into these three groups—documents which come into an office ; (copies of) documents which go out ; and documents which do neither, which circulate within it.

(*b*) *Earliest Archives : the File.* We see our Administrator, then, starting with the simplest of all Archive forms, a file ; which we use as a generic term for a sack or box or hamper

or other receptacle [1] in which are contained, or a string on which are threaded, a miscellaneous collection of scraps of paper or parchment of these three kinds.

In the case of English Public Archives, putting aside the contentious question whether we have or have not surviving fragments of Chancery Archives previous to the Enrolment period, we need go no further than to the famous *Dialogus de Scaccario* for evidence that this primitive state once existed in both the Chancellor's department and the Treasurer's. The Archives of the first of these, as they are known to Richard Fitz Niel, are the *contrabrevia*,[2] copies of those Royal Writs issued by the department of which it was desired to retain memory: in the case of the Exchequer the *Dialogus* gives us no hint, it is true, of a period when the *Pipe Roll* itself, the most venerable of English Records, was anything but a complete roll; and it is possible that this most formidable of Archives was born like Athena: but it does clearly indicate a period, before the *Pipe Roll* existed, when the records of the finance department consisted of no more than bundles of wooden tallies.[3] As to other 'proceedings' of the Royal Court in this country the writer has suggested elsewhere [4] that the beginnings of another most venerable series, that of the *Memoranda Rolls* of the Exchequer, may be clearly traced in certain very fragmentary pieces which have come down to us; and it is possible that the earliest archives of the third great division of Medieval Royal Administration—the Legal—were of a nature to include those filed *Feet of Fines* of which we have the first notice in connexion with the year 1163.[5]

So much for the second and third of our primary Archive classes (*documents issued* and *proceedings*). In the case of the

[1] White leather and other bags to hold records survive even now in many cases; the 'Hanaper' (hamper) gave its name to a whole Archive Department; and the Domesday and other chests are prominent features in the Record Office Museum.

[2] Oxford ed., p. 82. The *Dialogus* was written in the latter half of the twelfth century by Richard Fitz Niel, himself a former Treasurer.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 60.

[4] In an article on the *Financial Records of the Reign of King John* in the Magna Carta Commemoration volume published by the Royal Historical Society: the view is again supported by passages in the *Dialogus*.

[5] At a later date we get clear indications of an intermediate stage between Miscellanea on files and the fully developed and formal legal record, the *Plea Roll*. These may be found in the class which represents the 'Ancient Miscellanea' of the Court of King's Bench—that known as *Ancient Indictments*, which frequently contain fragments very closely parallel to the class of *Assize Rolls*, &c. For these see an article by Miss B. H. Putnam in *English Hist. Rev.*, xxix, 1914, p. 479; and for the Fine cited here, L. F. Salzmann (*ibid.*, xxv, 1910, p. 708). On the subject of *Feet of Fines* see below Part II, § 2 (*c*), *note*.

first, that of *documents received*[1] by the Royal Court, we are on even surer ground. It is hardly necessary to offer any proof that from the earliest times such documents, in the form of a miscellaneous collection of isolated pieces, introduce something which may be called an Archive Class into the contents of the Royal Treasury. Such is indeed the normal procedure in all countries and all ages ; as Palgrave reminds us in an apt quotation from the Book of Ezra.

But we have gone a little in advance of our theme and must turn back to a consideration of the next stage in Archive evolution.

(*c*) *Differentiation.* We come here upon the first of a series of steps in the evolution of Archives consisting of the separation of bulky or important classes from the main series of *Miscellanea* into separate files, boxes, &c. The very important single document may have a box or pyx or other receptacle all to itself, as is seen in various cases in the first of the Record Inventories printed by Palgrave,[2] cases which doubtless were a survival from still earlier times. Speaking, however, of the generality of Archives we may say that from an original collection not arranged upon any particular principle there will very soon be separated off such classes as by reason of their numbers or the fact that they are frequently required for reference are judged worthy of the dignity of a separate file.[3]

[1] On the subject of these early collections see H. Hall, *Studies in English Official Historical Documents* (Cambridge, 1908), pp. 13 *et seqq.*

[2] *The Antient Kalendars and Inventories of the Treasury of His Majesty's Exchequer* (Record Commission, 1832) : the Inventory here referred to is that of Stapleton, completed in 1323. The curious will find in this work some pictures of receptacles anciently used for the storing of Archives. The whole work, which contains specimens of English Archivists' work from the fourteenth century (Stapleton) to the seventeenth (Agarde) is of great historical interest to Archivists.

[3] An obvious class of these would be those writs which are periodically required for reference—the *contrabrevia* already mentioned, copies of Royal Writs issued by the Chancery which had some connexion with or bearing upon the Royal finances and would therefore be required at Audit. We may remark that once a class is thus differentiated it is a very small step, where the documents consist of copies or memoranda, from the making of such copies or memoranda on a series of scraps of parchment to their making upon scraps of an equal size which may be made up into a register or a roll : accordingly we shall presently find these *contrabrevia* taking the form of a roll.

(*d*) *Differentiation : continued.* Differentiation may be based upon either the form or the subject-matter of the documents in question, the word 'form' being understood in the sense both of physical shape and of diplomatic conception.

It is very possible that the irregular but large size of the *Inquisitions post mortem*, among the Chancery Records, the Escheats as they were generally called, was the original cause of their being placed in separate files : [1] it is quite clear, to take a later example, that the reason why, among the Archives of the African Company,[2] the *Journals* of Cape Coast Castle formed a large separate series while the *Day Books* of that and other forts in Africa lay hidden [3] amongst masses of miscellaneous papers, was that the second of these series was contained in small paper-bound books while the first was an imposing collection of large volumes. An instance of differentiation based on another kind of form (the diplomatic form of the document) [4] is that of the earlier *Norman Rolls*,[5] which are enrolments of copies of such letters under the great seal as were *made and dated in Normandy*. While an example of differentiation based on subject-matter (and incidentally of a modern mistake in classification) [6] is supplied by the later rolls in the same class [7] (dating from the fifth to the tenth year of Henry V), which are rolls of *matters relating to Normandy* ; having no better connexion than the chance identity of name with the earlier Rolls.

[1] These documents, inquiries regarding the property held by tenants-in-chief of the Crown, take the form of writs ordering the inquiries to be made (these were returned to the Chancery after execution) and the result of the inquiries in the form of parchments of an almost infinite variety of sizes and shapes according to the amount of the property to be described.

That they occupied separate files as early as the reign of Edward III is well established. That other Inquisitions (such as those of the classes known now as *Criminal* and *Miscellaneous*) had their place on the Miscellaneous Files of the Chancery is equally certain (see Record Office *Calendar of Miscellaneous Inquisitions*, vol. i, preface, pp. vii and viii). There is further an indication that this distinction of the 'Escheats' might occasionally be forgotten (*ibid.*, p. xii, the Case of the 'Proofs of Age' found in 1841 on the ordinary *Chancery Files*). A good example will be found in the same place (p. xiii) of the rise of a small class—in this case the *Inquisitions de Rebellibus*—to the temporary dignity of a separate file.

[2] The Records of three Companies which traded to Africa under Letters Patent of Incorporation came into the possession of the Treasury and are now among the Archives of that Department in the Public Record Office : see below, Part II, § 2 (*f*).

[3] They have now been sorted out.

[4] It is possible that the *Inquisitions post mortem* should properly be assigned to this class.

[5] 1 to 6 John, Numbers 1 to 7 in the present class at the Public Record Office.

[6] See the article on the Records of John already quoted.

[7] Numbers 8 to 17.

It is worth while, in this connexion, to take a general view of differentiation in the Chancery. The original Miscellanea, or Files of Archives of all kinds, are split up into (1) Chancery Files—documents *in filaciis*—and (2) Chancery Enrolments. Amongst (1) we may distinguish Miscellaneous Files and Files dealing with particular subjects, while (2) immediately splits again into *Patent*, *Charter*, and *Liberate Rolls*, being rolls of three different kinds of letter under the Great Seal. Now note the progress of the *Liberate Roll*.[1] When we first meet it we recognize merely an enrolment form of the old file of *contrabrevia* already mentioned. *Contrabrevia* all take the form of letters close and it is only one step farther to add other letters close, not interesting the Exchequer, to those already enrolled, and our *Liberate Roll* becomes the *Close Roll* so well known to students in Record Commission and Record Office Calendars. But there is yet another step to come. The need for a separate roll is again felt and we get a new *Liberate Roll* split off from the *Close Roll*, which continues to exist separately.

By a further extension this new *Liberate Roll* has added to it copies of other writs in a different form authorizing not the 'livery' of money but the 'allowance' of expenditure.

We have gone into this case in some detail because in it we may see that the process of bifurcation is always going on, being indeed a condition of healthy active life, just as reproduction and increase are conditions of healthy active life elsewhere. But we may see something else. Behind the newly-made series—in the case of the Chancery, the enrolments—there lies always a residuum of the undifferentiated, the old files, the classes which in the case of all English Medieval Courts have come to be known ultimately as the '*Ancient Miscellanea*': and these, too, continue capable of throwing up new classes, which in their turn may bifurcate and carry on the development. Thus the Chancery Files contained always a certain number of Petitions referred by the Crown to the Chancellor or addressed to him directly. These might or might not be formed into special Files; but out of them grew ultimately, some two hundred years after the system of Chancery Rolls had become an established thing, the great system of Equity procedure[2] at the Chancery and the great separate classes of files of *Chancery Proceedings*; which in due course themselves split up into divisions—the divisions of the six Clerks—besides throwing off all kinds of subordinate Archive Series.[3]

[1] *Liberate* is the name given to writs authorizing *delivery* of money out of the Treasury. The Liberate Rolls here instanced must be carefully distinguished from the series bearing, at any rate in modern times, the same name, which was kept at the Exchequer of Receipt. This second series is interesting because it is made up from some of the same writs which gave us the Chancery roll, but at the other end: i. e. the Chancery *Liberate* are rolls of letters *issued*, the Exchequer series rolls of letters *received*; both copied from the same originals.

[2] The distinctive feature of this Equity Procedure was that it began with a petition—a Bill of Complaint—addressed to the Chancellor.

[3] *Chancery Depositions*, *Chancery Decrees and Orders*, and the like.

We are coming here to a fresh subject, that of the connexion between classes of Archives and classes of functions and functionaries in the Administrations which produce them. But before we deal with this it may be well to glance at the varying careers of all these generations of Archives.

(*e*) *The varying careers of Archive Classes.* While the original stock, the *Ancient Miscellanea*, continues to flourish and perhaps to throw out fresh branches, what may be the fate of its various offshoots? There are several possibilities.

(1) An archive class may die out with the circumstances which brought it into being.

Thus the presence of the Jews in England and the special business which resulted caused the appearance at the Exchequer of Receipt, where money was paid in, of two special classes, separated off from the normal series of Receipt Rolls—the Rolls of Receipts from Jewish Talliages and from other Jewish sources.[1] There was also a special legal Court, the *Scaccarium Iudeorum*, with Records which were probably [2] a differentiation from the contemporary *Memoranda Rolls*. Naturally with the expulsion of the Jews in 1290 all these Archive Classes lapsed. We have seen already a small instance of a short-lived Archive Class in the case of the *Inquisitions de Rebellibus*.

(2) A class may be reabsorbed into the class from which it was differentiated.

Thus in the period of Edward I and Edward II there arose gradually a habit of recording receipts from taxation separately at the end of the ordinary Receipt Roll; sometimes separate membranes were used and a separate roll resulted. Later these entries returned to the main roll.

(3) Some or all of the functions of an Archive Class may pass from it.

Thus of the various uses of the Charter, the most formal of medieval letters under the great seal of England, which are summarized by Hardy in his introduction to the *Rotuli Cartarum* [3] most, during the fourteenth century, passed to another form of Royal letter, the letter patent, with a corresponding modification to the *Charter Roll* and *Patent Roll.*[4]

[1] See an article on *Receipts from the English Jewry* in *Transactions* of the Jewish Historical Society, vol. viii, pp. 19 *et seqq.*

[2] The suggestion here made has since been developed in an Introduction to *Calendar of the Plea Rolls of the Exchequer of the Jews*, vol. iii (1929).

[3] Record Commission edition, 1837.

[4] Perhaps an even better example is that of the *Close Roll*, one of the chief interests of which in the time of John and Henry III is that it contains the King's personal letters. The custom grew up of enrolling private *Deeds* on this in consideration of a fee: and that ultimately became (and still is) the sole use of the record.

(4) Occasionally a series may be replaced by another having apparently the same functions and differing only in name.

Thus the function of recording confirmations passed from the *Patent* and *Charter Rolls* in 1483 to the series of *Confirmation Rolls*, and these again gave way to the Patent Roll later.[1]

(5) A class may become itself so important that its original connexion with the parent stock is almost or entirely lost sight of.

Thus the *Exchequer of Pleas Plea Roll* (the Record of a Common Law jurisdiction in the King's Remembrancer's department of the Exchequer) was probably in origin no more than a section split off from the *Memoranda Roll* ; but that origin [2] has become almost entirely obscured owing to its later growth and importance.

(*f*) *Differentiation of Archive Classes and the redistribution of duties among personnel.* All this changing of function is of course closely parallel to, in many cases directly caused by, changes in the staff of the Office to which they belong or at any rate in the allotment of the staff's duties. Nothing is more important in a study of the growth of Archives than a study of the growth of the personnel of administration.[3] New offices, as a rule, tend naturally and immediately (as we have had opportunity of observing in England during the Great War) to increase the efficiency of their internal machinery by increasing their staff ; they always tend to rearrange and reshuffle duties as soon as they have had some experience of administration. Few things are so striking in administrative history as the way in which most high functionaries of our own day have developed out of very humble medieval beginnings.

Thus the keeper of the *Domus Conversorum* had added to his duties about the time of the expulsion of the Jews that of keeping the Rolls of Chancery ; to-day the Master of the Rolls is titular head not only of the Chancery Records but of all the more important Public Archives

[1] The *Charter Roll* finally lapsed in 1516.

[2] The theory here advanced has since been proved to the Author's satisfaction in an Introduction to *Select Cases in the Exchequer of Pleas* (Selden Society, 1932).

[3] Tout in his *Chapters* (already cited) emphasizes throughout the importance of a close study of appointments on the staffs of the various offices.

of the Kingdom ;[1] besides enjoying eminent judicial functions and position : the Chancellor of the Exchequer of our day is an obscure clerk, hardly worthy of mention, in the time of the *Dialogus* : what had been subordinate posts about the medieval Exchequer became the prizes of Prime Ministers' sons in the days of Horace Walpole. To these large changes of function the Archive changes are always, as we have said, closely parallel ; but it is equally true that small changes in Archives generally connote some small change in the occupation of the places and functions of which the Archives are the visible sign. Probably the comparatively small changes in the functions of the various Chancery Enrolments are just as closely bound up with changes in the clerical staff as the appearance of the State Papers, so strikingly different in their form, or lack of form, from the executive instruments of earlier times, is bound up with the striking re-adjustment of the position and importance of the King's Secretary under the Tudors.[2]

(*g*) *Archives, Ancient and Modern, Public and Private.* It is important to observe that all the foregoing remarks, though we have illustrated them, for reasons of simplicity, mainly from Medieval Public Collections, apply equally to Ancient and Modern, Public and Private : there is practically—can be—no difference in the manner of development of functions and Archives which have existed *a tempore de quo non exstat memoria*, and of the statute-provided Administrations and Registers of later days. At most, the latter, having the benefit of many analogies to guide them, may start at the second of the stages of evolution we have noted : may skip the stage of *Miscellanea*. Thus *Parish Registers* for the entering of Weddings, Christenings and Burials came into existence without any noteworthy preliminaries as the result of Cromwell's injunctions in 1538 : though even so, the Archives thus started have not been without important subsequent modification, notably that effected by the Act of 1812, which provided separate printed books for the three classes of entries —an obvious example of differentiation.[3] Similarly a modern

[1] By this survival the present Public Record Office occupies the site of the old Rolls Buildings and Chapel : cp. H. Hall, *Studies in English Official Historical Documents* (Cambridge, 1908), p. 118 ; quoting 57*th Report of the Deputy Keeper* . . .

[2] On the early history of the State Paper Office, see Hall, pp. 30 *et seqq.*

[3] For a convenient summary of the history of Parish Register Form see A. Hamilton Thompson, *Parish History and Records* (Helps for Students of History : S.P.C.K.), pp. 42 *et seqq.*

business firm when it comes into existence will not experiment but will start straight away with such books as the analogous experience of countless other firms of the same kind suggests to be suitable. It is hardly necessary to add that it is immaterial for our purpose whether the Authority which calls such Archives into existence be internal or external, the head of an office on the one hand, or on the other, Parliament, directing by statute that such and such Archives shall be kept : by one process or another they come to life and, having come, live and develop along certain lines.

(*h*) *Order of Differentiation.* We have now two natural classifications of Archives. First, we saw that all Archives fall into three classes—things received, things issued, and proceedings : secondly, we found that they might be divided into two classes of undifferentiated on the one hand and on the other those which had been differentiated out, according to subject or form, into regular series. Whether these take the form of Rolls, Registers, or Files does not particularly affect us, nor alter the Archive character of the documents themselves : for example *Close Rolls* have since 1903 taken the form of Books without causing any break in the continuous series running from the time of John to our own day. We also saw that the process of differentiation is always going on—may affect a single set of Archives again and again.

It is to be noticed that these two classifications do not always work into each other in the same way : we cannot say, for example, that any one of the three divisions of receipts, issues, and proceedings is always the first to be differentiated off from a class which contains all three.

Thus at the Medieval Exchequer of Audit the two first series to be differentiated are the *Pipe Roll* (proceedings only) and the *Memoranda Roll* (which summarizes the whole business of the Department, In-letters, Out-letters, and Proceedings) : the Chancery on the other hand appears to have differentiated first the Out-letters (copies, mostly on Rolls), then certain classes of the In-letters (returns to writs, on files) ; while no Proceedings appear as a separate class for quite a considerable time. Medieval Legal Administration in England for a long time differentiates little save proceedings (*Plea Rolls* and the files of *Feet of Fines*). Among semi-public and private Archives, *Bishops' Registers* show

us, it is true, Archives kept in a standard form, but the contents of the Registers are miscellaneous and a similar remark may be made of the *Cartularies* of private persons or Religious Houses.

(*i*) *The Hands of Former Archivists.* Before we conclude this section we must not omit to mention one further stage in the evolution of Archives ; the stage, or stages, of development through which they have passed in the hands of other Archivists before they reach us. Unfortunately the earlier custodians of the Public Records in England (for example) have not always been as reasonable as we could wish in their treatment of their charges. To take only one instance the State Papers [1] are known to have had one classification in 1545 and to have been re-classified by Sir Thomas Wilson about 1620 and again by Sir Joseph Williamson about 1680 ; they were then ' method-ized ' between 1764 and 1800 ; and between 1848 and 1862 came under the State Paper Office classification : all this before they reached the Public Record Office, to undergo arrangement there. This again is a matter we shall have to consider later ; meanwhile we may remark that it is clear the very dating of a paper or the identification of its writer may depend upon our knowledge of its whereabouts at a date far removed, perhaps, from our own, but equally long after its original compilation.

§ 2. *Transmission of Archives : the Question of Custody*

In previous sections we have dwelt upon the extreme importance, for the preservation of Archive character in documents, of the question of Custody. In Section 1 of this part we have seen something of the evolution of Archives and of the Classes into which they fell and fall ; and in the last part of that section we referred to the stages through which any Archive Classes which are handed down to the modern Archivist may have passed in the hands of other Archivists, his predecessors. This may serve to introduce us to a consideration of the ways in which Ancient Archives have been commonly transmitted to our own times. Only upon a consideration of

[1] See Hall, *op. cit.*, pp. 134 *et seqq.*

such details in Archive history can we found a system of keeping and classification which may be held reasonably safe.

(*a*) *Where the Administration which produced the Archives continues to function.* So long as the administrative or executive office discharged by the original owner of the Archives continues to function, so long may this 'Administrator' be considered to be undying. His successor or successors take over, by themselves or their deputies, his collections of written memorials and use them, when occasion arises, as their original compiler would have used them.[1] Thus the Heads of the Courts of Common Pleas and of King's Bench in (say) 1800 were the possessors of what we may call a joint official memory dating back to the twelfth century in the shape of the Archives now known as *Curia Regis Rolls*.[2]

(*b*) *Where a new Administration carries on the same functions.* But now let us take the history a step farther. In 1873 the functions of the two Courts we have mentioned were transferred to the Supreme Court of Judicature. What then happened to their Archives? Obviously they are transferred with the functions in question and start a new lease of life, the Archive line remaining still unbroken, as a part of the written memorials of this new Administrative body.[3] A precisely parallel case

[1] A good deal of the history of early consultation of Records is to be found in the case of the Public Records of England in the class at the Public Record Office known formerly as '*County Placita*' and now in the *Chancery Miscellanea*, being information transmitted to the Chancery by officials in charge of Archives elsewhere, such for example as Agarde and Fanshawe, whose signatures will be found in (e. g.) bundle 71, file 2.

A good example of early consultation of Ancient Archives was noted recently in a Plea Roll of Edward III's reign, which bears a note (the copy of a writ) as to its consultation added in 16 James I (*Chester* 29/67, m. 114: cp. *Curia Regis Roll* 160, a Plea Roll of Henry III to which are attached two writs of Edward III).

[2] The earliest of these in existence dates from 5 Richard I: the *Curia Regis* was differentiated into two courts, known to us as the Courts of King's Bench and Common Pleas, in the thirteenth century, from which date they have separate Archives.

[3] Another example is afforded by the Records of the *Office of First Fruits and Tenths* set up by Henry VIII after the Dissolution of the Monasteries. These records passed to the custody of the Commissioners of *Queen Anne's Bounty*, a body set up, on the authority of an Act of Parliament, by letters patent of Queen Anne. They passed

would be (to take only one instance) the acquisition of an estate with its title deeds and other muniments from the family of A., which had held it for ten generations, by the family of B., which proceeds to hold it for ten more.

For example the Manor of Easter or High Easter, in Essex, originally in the possession of Geoffrey de Mandeville, passed through Beatrix de Say, his descendant in the female line, to Geoffrey Fitz Peter, through whose daughter it passed to the family of de Bohun, Earls of Hereford : after remaining in the de Bohun family for some generations it passed, again through the female line, to Thomas of Woodstock in 1371, thence once more through the female line to the Earls of Stafford after 1399, and thence, at the division of the Bohun inheritance in 1421, to King Henry V, who annexed it to the Duchy of Lancaster.[1] According to one account [2] it was again granted out by the Crown to the Duke of Buckingham in 1483, but it is doubtful whether this grant, if genuine, ever took effect ; if it did the manor reverted, on the Duke's execution, to the Crown and to the Duchy of Lancaster, with the estates of which it remained thereafter. A fine series [3] of *Court Rolls*, dating from so early as the reign of Henry III, has faithfully followed these wanderings and is now among the Records of the Duchy of Lancaster at the Public Record Office. Unfortunately for English local history private muniments have not always been handed over, when an estate was transferred, so punctiliously or carefully as in the case of these Court Rolls ; as may indeed be seen in the parallel series of *Ministers' Accounts*, showing the administrative side of the same manor, which survive only from the reign of Richard II,[4] and in the even worse fate which appears to have befallen the deeds.

again to the charge and superintendence of the Master of the Rolls by the Record Office Act of 1838. They have now been classed as Archives of the Exchequer (First Fruits and Tenths Division), but one class of them continued in existence after the Act of 1838 (the *Bishops Certificates of Institutions and Benefices*) and these properly belong to the Archives of the Commissioners. See below (p. 97) Part II, § 6 (*l*), the remarks on *Arrangement : Chief Principle.*

[1] Cp. Sir W. Hardy, *Charters of the Duchy of Lancaster* (1845), pp. 179 and 182.

[2] Dugdale, *Baronage*, vol. i, p. 169 ; quoted by G. E. C., *Complete Peerage* (old and new editions). Dugdale's statement, however, rests on a sign manual of Richard III, which he saw '*in Castro de Stafford*', and, as in the case of a like document already cited (above, Part I, § 2 (*f*)), there is no Public Record to sustain it. For the descent of the Manor see P. Morant, *History of Essex*, vol. ii (Chelmsford, 1816), p. 455.

[3] It runs from 33 Henry III (*Court Rolls* 62/750) to 1815 (*ibid.* 77/975) with comparatively few gaps. Another well-known and fine series is that of the Tooting Court Rolls, now in the possession of the London County Council, which also date from the thirteenth century.

[4] *Duchy of Lancaster, Ministers' Accounts*, bundles 42 to 52 and 58 to 72.

(*c*) *Where the function ceases but the Administration goes on.* So far there is little difficulty ; but this does not exhaust the possibilities of the case. Let us now suppose that the branch of work to which a certain class of Archives is attached ceases altogether but that other functions of the same office continue. Thus the Court of Common Pleas, which we saw handing over its functions and Archives to the Supreme Court of Judicature, had anciently a method whereby the transference of land from one private person to another could be made a matter of record in the Archives of the Court—the process known as levying a fine, after a fictitious action in the Court—and a corresponding Archive class of *Feet of Fines*.[1] This process, and these Archives, were stopped by Act of Parliament in 1834, the other functions of the Court of Common Pleas continuing. Here, however, there is again no difficulty. The Head of the Court and his successors continue to hold, as part of their official heritage, these obsolete Archives, the position of which as historical, and indeed as legal, evidence is not impaired by the fact that the Office of Cheirographer, and other offices formerly connected with the process, have ceased to exist.

(*d*) *Where both Administration and Function cease.* But now let us suppose that the whole of the functions of an Archive-owning and Archive-making Office cease simultaneously. In this case one of two things may happen. Either the head of the expiring office as a part, duly authenticated, of his official 'winding-up' may transfer his Archives to the custody of some other Archive-keeping official. He may do this under instruction or upon his own initiative. Examples of Archives so transferred are furnished by the case of Copyright Records transferred to the Public Record Office when the Act of 1911 brought the old Copyright Administration to a close ; and

[1] The existing class of these *Feet* dates from Henry II to William IV. The Record consisted of an indenture in triplicate of which the Court and the two parties preserved each one part. An interesting example of the transmigrations of private muniments is furnished by one or two cases where the muniments of the two parties having for some reason come into the hands of the Crown the Record Office is enabled to put together again the three parts : one instance is reproduced in facsimile in Johnson and Jenkinson, *Court Hand Illustrated*, Part II, plate XVII (*b*).

again, in a still more remarkable degree, by the deposit in the same office of the Archives of an ancient Inn of Court (a private institution)—those of Serjeants' Inn, abolished in 1883. In these cases the Archives pass to a fresh stage of their history in new surroundings and with new connexions ; still, however, without any real break in the continuity of their custody, the Master of the Rolls being the Official Trustee, as it were, of an unlimited number of dead Administrations, statutory heir to their Archive-preserving functions.

Alternatively, as is the fortune of many manorial and other real property Archives in England in these days of extinction of manors and the disuse of ' long title ' to land, such Archives may lie, so to speak, where they have been left and await what fortune has in store for them. In such a case there will soon come a break in the continuity of their Archive history which no subsequent care in preservation can altogether bridge. The question of the fate of private Archives placed in such a predicament is discussed below.

(*e*) *Mixed Cases.* It is to be noticed that any two or more of these adventures may befall a single Archive or set of Archives at different stages in its transmission. This will occur particularly when an Archive preserved originally in one connexion is later made to serve a different Archive purpose.

Thus a Cartulary of the Abbey of Ramsey,[1] after serving its original purpose for two centuries, passed at the Dissolution into the hands of the Cromwell Family, who obtained a portion of the Abbey lands ; it was later produced in evidence in a case in the Court of Exchequer and remained afterwards among the Archives of that Court ; and it has now been transferred, with other Archives of the same Court, to the custody of the Master of the Rolls.[2] A similar cartulary of the Abbey of Chertsey is less fortunate and its present archive quality must be held to date only from 1653 when it came to the Exchequer through Sir Henry Spiller, who had recovered it from the hands of ' Mrs. Coggs of Egham,' who almost certainly had no title to it.[3] Cases of change of custody of this kind are particularly common where an

[1] Printed in the series of *Chronicles and Memorials* : see the Introduction to that edition, p. vii.

[2] *K. R. Misc. Books*, No. 28 : the Chertsey Cartulary is No. 25 in the same series.

[3] Surrey Record Society, *Chertsey Cartulary* (London, 1915), p. vi.

Archive at a more or less late stage of its career is used as a voucher to a Public account [1] or an exhibit in a suit : and we have also the contrary case where what should have been Public Archives come down to us in private collections,[2] but still with a certain Archive quality. Yet another survivor from the dissolution of the Monasteries, the Cartulary of Pershore Abbey,[3] owes its present position to a different chain of adventures : it was bought in Fleet Street in 1598 by one William Bell, who has appended a note describing the transaction ; and was subsequently deposited by Fulk Greville with William Mynterne, Keeper of the Records at the Augmentation Office, becoming a Public Record as from June 20th, 1620 : of the transitions from its original owners to Bell and from Bell to Greville nothing is known.

(f) Custody : what is a Responsible Person? We have seen that the original custodian of Archives is some person connected with the Administration which produced them : we have seen also that the administrative functions and the Archives may be transferred to a totally different administrative authority without the Archives losing their character ; nay, the functions may lapse and the Archives be taken over by some person or office totally unconnected with them and yet the chain of custody remain unbroken.

A final example shows all these processes occurring, that of the African Company :[4] in this case the Archives of the first Company (incorporated 1662) passed to the second Company (incorporated 1672), whose collections passed in turn to a third with a quite different constitution (incorporated 1750) : upon the abolition of this last Company by Act of Parliament in 1820 its Archives passed to the Treasury : and they are now in the Public Record Office with the Archives of that Department.

[1] Cp. an Exchequer Case noted in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, 2nd series, vol. xxvi, p. 36. The class of *Exchequer Accounts* (*K. R.*) in the Public Record Office is full of such examples.

[2] The quality of many of the great collections of State Papers not in the Public Record Office to which the Historical MSS. Commission's Reports introduce us is of course that of private Archives : such are the Cecil Papers still at Hatfield House, the Collections of the Duke of Leeds (mentioned in another connexion below (p. 118) Part II, § 6 (*y*)), the Elizabethan Musters so frequently found amongst Private Muniments (e. g. those in the Losely MSS. printed by the Surrey Record Society), and many others.

[3] Now Augmentation Office, Miscellaneous Books, 61 : see again as to this book, below (p. 120) Part II, § 6 (*z*).

[4] For a note on the Archives of this Company see *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 3rd series, vol. vi, pp. 185 *et seqq.*

The question naturally suggests itself, what is the criterion of custody? It would seem that the custody of any given person or official must not cease without his expressly handing over his functions as Archive-keeper to some other responsible person. But this merely leaves us the task of defining a 'responsible person'.

It is at this point that, for Archive purposes, we must part company with the legal definition of custody.[1] The matter is one for a separate section, but an example may make clearer what is the exact point to be discussed. The writer was recently confronted with the case where a Public Librarian had, for the safety of the document, accepted custody of an old Parish Register. Now although from a legal point of view this Archive would certainly have lost evidential value in passing from the custody of its proper guardian, the Rector of the parish, was it not arguable, historically speaking, that if the book had been handed over upon an undertaking that certain forms of custody should be observed its archive quality might be reasonably assumed to be intact? In point of fact in the particular case instanced the book proved to have been, amongst other adventures, through at least one Sale Room and the question of continuous custody could no longer arise. But in other cases it might—and does—arise, and it will be well for us to be prepared with an answer.

§ 3. *What is an Archivist?*

NOTE TO 1937 EDITION

The text of this Section has been left as it was published in 1922 as an illustration of the development in English Archive Administration described in the Preface to the present Edition.

Here, put baldly, is the real point at issue. So far we have classed as an Archivist (by the terms of our definition of

[1] See above, Part I, § 2 (*f*).

Archives) either the person who takes over, by himself or his deputy, as part of the legitimate inheritance of an office he fulfils the written memorials of its activities in the past, or, as in the case of an official of the Public Record Office, a person charged with the duty of receiving from the functionaries of (sometimes) expiring other institutions the inheritance for which there will be no direct heir, a kind of Public Trustee. The question now arises—supposing there is neither heir nor any one willing to take the first step of depositing, can the Public Archivist go out of his way and intervene uninvited to save the life and character of the Archives? More important still, since the official Archivist has very generally his hands full, can any public body, not being an official receiver of other people's Archives, constitute itself an Archivist *ad hoc*? And, if so, upon what conditions?

There are numerous and valuable classes of Archive collection in England, and no doubt elsewhere, in the case of which such action would undoubtedly be desirable, but it will be sufficient to take one as an example. Owing to the modern legislation[1] by which only proof of 'short title' is now required in the transference of real property, collections of old deeds formerly preserved for a practical legal purpose (that of showing title) have ceased to have any *raison d'être* save an historical one. The result is that they are perishing daily in the lumber rooms of solicitors and the like places; or, dragged out of those doubtful refuges, are being dismembered, sold (whether to the antique dealer or the glue merchant or the Museum) and dispersed. Merely to save Archives so important for local history by offering them an asylum is a work of piety and usefulness; but the question may also be raised whether they (and, consequently, any other collections of unwanted Archives which may be found anywhere in a similar plight) can be preserved with full status as Archives.

We make no apology for emphasizing this most important point. Here is no question of legal transfer as in the case of the Common Pleas Records instanced above; no question of the last

[1] The Conveyancing Act of 37, 38 Victoria.

official of a vanishing Administration deliberately handing over custody (as in the case of the Copyright Records already cited) to a competent authority, i.e. to one already functioning as an Archive-keeper. It is the case of the Archivist making the first move, intervening in order to preserve : or even of a suitable public body constituting itself an Archivist for the purposes of the case.

It is the undoubted duty of the Official Custodian of Archives which regularly accrue [1] to remind the depositing Administration of his existence from time to time and to offer any useful suggestions.[2] The question is—can we also lay it down that a Public Authority not primarily concerned with the keeping of any Archives save its own may declare itself a responsible custodian prepared to take over such archives as those referred to above and not merely to keep them safe but to give them continuous custody ? Such a course may obviously be most desirable, and it seems to the present writer equally obvious that such an authority may perfectly well take it under certain conditions, conditions which will ensure the continuance of such a measure of custody as would have been the portion of the Archives had they been and remained intensely important for the practical purposes of administration.

Let us put down, then, here the conditions which would make a collection of private deeds or papers taken over by (say) a Public Library as safe physically and as secure in their reputation for impartiality and authenticity as the Muniments of the Crown, preserved once in the Treasury of the Receipt of the Exchequer at Westminster and now in the Public Record Office in Chancery Lane.

(1) There must be reasonable probability of the Authority's own continued existence. Thus a Borough Library or a County Muniment Room is a stable thing : it is hardly conceivable that such Authority should come to a sudden end, without at least handing over its functions to a regular successor.

[1] e. g. the Records of the Supreme Court which are deposited at regular intervals at the Public Record Office.

[2] See below, Part IV, § 13.

(2) The Archives must be taken over direct from the original owner or his official heir or representative.

(3) The authority taking over must be prepared to subscribe to the ordinary rules of Archive management directed to the preservation of Archive character. What these are in the matter of safety, custody, and methods of arrangement we have tried to indicate in §§ 5 and 6 of this part of the present work ; but we may notice one in particular here.

(4) In all cases, then, the Authority taking over must be prepared to take over *en bloc* : there must be no selecting of ' pretty ' specimens.

It is not to be said, of course, that short of these conditions no one may house and preserve documents which would otherwise be derelict ; but it seems clear that, with them, all conditions of Archive value may be preserved so far as concerns the Research worker. A good example of the preservation of private collections in some such way as the above is furnished by the case of the Watt Papers now in the Birmingham Free Library. These do not entirely fulfil our conditions, for they were purchased by a private owner when the works closed down about 1893, though up to then custody had been continuous ; and only acquired by the Library in 1911. They have, however, been preserved from dispersal. In many counties also the voluntary effort of Local Authorities [1] or Local Societies is doing something to rescue private muniments from destruction if not always from the loss of their Archive characteristics. If the present note does anything to increase such activities it will have been useful.

§ 4. *Archives and Museums*

The rule as to taking over *en bloc* will, it may be feared, be one that rules out Museums in many cases. The British Museum, for example, has a collection of Administrative documents

[1] See above in the *Preface* description of the increase, since this passage was written, in the number of Local Authorities making provision for the preservation of Archives other than those statutorily in their custody.

which is formed out of the wreck of hundreds of earlier sets of muniments : an interesting, valuable, and beautiful accumulation [1] which is, of course, admirably selected and most carefully conserved. No Archivist could wish (it is almost superfluous to say) for better guardianship or custody than these documents receive. At the same time no Archivist, even in the cases where these documents have been taken over direct from the original owners [2] and custody has consequently been preserved unbroken, could possibly allow full Archive value to documents which have been violently torn from the connexion in which they were originally preserved, a connexion which in nine cases out of ten is important, if not vital, for the full understanding of their significance.

Museums are naturally restricted to preserving Museum specimens and it may be questioned, therefore, whether an ideal arrangement would not be one by which they took over only isolated specimens whose connexions were already lost, leaving the Archivist to deal with all more or less intact collections.[3] There can be no doubt that the latter should not, if he can help it, take in, by way of gift or otherwise, documents which have not an Archive quality, saving where they are strays which fill gaps in existing series and can be preserved accordingly, *with a suitable distinguishing mark*,[4] in company with the others to which they historically belong. Thus the

[1] For a general summary of this collection and an explanation of its existence see Sir Frederick Kenyon's note in the Royal Commission on Public Records, *First Report*, vol. ii (1910), pp. 25, 26.

[2] In many cases, of course, they have been obtained through the Sale Room. If an Archivist may venture to offer a suggestion to Museums in general, it would be well if, in their Catalogues, they informed students in every case of the provenance of the documents described.

[3] At the time this passage was written I referred to a correspondence in *The Times* (August 20 and August 23, 1921). Since then the situation has been materially affected by the great development already mentioned of Local Repositories which are prepared to offer a home to private Collections in danger of dispersal. There is good reason to hope that co-operation between these Repositories and the great Museums may do much to solve the problem upon sound lines.

[4] At the Public Record Office such recovered strays are stamped with a special inscription ' some time out of custody '.

deposit of the *Rodney Papers* and the *Chatham MSS.*[1] at the Public Record Office may be justified on the grounds of Archive quality, though in view of the character, strictly relating to Public Administration, of the other Archives preserved there, the policy is perhaps doubtful. There can be no reasonable ground for the gift [2] of a single Saxon charter being made to that office instead of to the British Museum.[3]

We cannot close this section without a word as to the foreign practice in regard to the matter of which we have been speaking. We have already indicated that one of the main distinctions between English and foreign Archive practice lies in the emphasizing of Custody in this country ; and have given reasons for thinking that this emphasis is by no means undue.[4] We are bound therefore to note here that the practice of French, and still more of Belgian, Archivists in the matter of the reception into their Archives of documents of both public and private nature from all kinds of sources goes quite contrary to our doctrine. Not content with receiving deposits of private Archives from their original owners (which, as we have suggested, may be a very desirable course under certain conditions), the Belgian authorities apparently buy isolated specimens on a large scale : their Archives, in fact, represent a kind of combination of the British Museum Manuscripts and the Public Record Office Archives. No doubt the accession numbers given to all such *accroissements* distinguish them adequately, for those who like to probe deeply enough into the Official Reports, from the genuine Archives ; but we cannot help regretting that an Archive Service which is regarded as one of the first in the world should in this matter deviate from one of the chief principles laid down in the *Manuel*—that for the Archivist, Archive interests should be primary and Historical ones

[1] The first were deposited by Mr. Harley Rodney in 1906 ; the second by Admiral Pringle in 1888.

[2] There is one such in the ' Miscellaneous ' section of the *Deposited Documents*.

[3] For an early example of a private Archive deposited in a Public Record Office see the case of the Pershore Abbey *Cartulary*, quoted above, Part II, § 2 (*e*).

[4] Above, Part I, § 2 (*f*).

secondary. For with all respect to the eminent authorities of the Belgian Archives, we cannot think that a stray paper from some dispersed family collection, itself picked up in a sale, is a fit inmate for a National Archive Establishment.[1]

§ 5. *The Primary Duties of an Archivist :* (i) *Physical Defence of Archives*

In dealing with these we must premise that we are concerned with the Archivist at present only as a person owing service to the past and to the memorials of the past. What, if any, should be his relations to Administrators now engaged in compiling the Archives of the future or to those who may come after them is a question we shall have to put and answer later. Up to now we are concerned with his duties to the more or less formed collections of Archives that he has already taken over. These duties, it may be recalled, we have already[2] divided into Primary and Secondary : the first being his duties towards the Archives themselves ; the second (to be considered only when the first have been satisfactorily discharged) his duties in the matter of publication and generally making available for use by students. The subject being somewhat long we propose to treat these two varieties of duty under separate sections, and moreover to divide the first again into two parts. In effect it is obvious that duties to the Archives themselves consist in their defence against all kinds of dangers ; but these dangers fall into two clearly defined classes, Physical and Moral. The present section will accordingly treat of the first of these—the Physical ;[3] which are mainly external, i.e. proceeding from sources other than the Archivist himself.

[1] See the various sections showing such accessions in *Les Archives de l'Etat en Belgique pendant la guerre*, already cited.

[2] Above, Part I, § 5.

[3] The literature of the subject is scattered and not easy to find : in particular a bibliography of works on the subject of Library and Repository fittings is a *desideratum*. Much information will be found in the reports of visits by the Royal Commission (1910) to Archive centres (see its *First Report*, part ii) : see also the *Guide International des Archives* (Paris and Rome, 1935).

The Library Association collects information on this topic and has recently promoted

'There is fower-fould hurte', said Agarde,[1] writing in 1610 'that by negligence may bringe wracke to records; that is to say Fier, Water, Rates and Mice, Misplacinge.' The summary is not, perhaps, quite complete from a modern point of view, but may serve as a text to our notes on the physical dangers against which Archives are to be defended.

(*a*) *The Repository.* From the point of view of *safety from fire and damp* the Archivist, if he has the supervision of construction, should have, with the modern resources of asbestos, steel, stone, and concrete[2] at his disposal, little difficulty. The chief danger in fact is not lest the building itself, in such a case, should catch fire or suffer from damp but lest neighbouring buildings should catch fire and by their collapse, by flying fragments of flaming material, by the mere heat generated in their burning, or by the water poured in to save them, damage the Repository or its contents. It is easy, in fact, to specify for a fire-proof and damp-proof building, and the Archivist's chief trouble will probably be to secure that the Repository shall be sufficiently isolated from other buildings. At the same time no precautions in the way of fire-fighting[3] apparatus, fire alarms, *direct* telephonic communication with the Fire Brigade, and a regular Fire Drill for the staff should be omitted.

It seems proper to add here some remarks on protection against attack from the air in war-time: but the current view is that little short of deep subterranean storage would be of any use:[4] and the Archivist, if he is to guard against calamitous

an elaborate investigation in all Library Centres of importance: publication of a summary of its results should be extremely valuable.

[1] Sir F. Palgrave, *Antient Calendars and Inventories* . . . (1836), II, p. 313.

[2] Steel, glass and the like may serve also for a considerable part of modern library fittings: though some (including the present writer) are prejudiced in favour of hard wood for shelving (*not* for the uprights of presses) on account of its greater kindliness and freedom from the tendency to condensation and rust.

[3] It should be noted that there is great potential danger to documents from *Extincteurs* discharging, or leaving a residue of, acid. There is, however, a pattern which discharges only water, and is actuated by compressed air.

[4] This remark applies to heavy high-explosive bombs. It is understood that incendiary bombs are, and are likely to remain, of small size and that stout roofs and walls should prevent their penetrating to the interior of the building; though it would be necessary to protect windows.

possibilities of this kind, will probably do best to concentrate on plans for evacuating when necessary part or all of his collections to places off the presumed lines of attack.

Heating is best supplied by ducts carrying air which has been passed over heated vanes or water-pipes. Engine rooms should be outside the Repository buildings, and water-pipes, if possible, below ground level and certainly not led through any part of the Repository from which a leakage could conceivably reach the documents : the danger to documents from water, it may be added, is normally much greater (under modern conditions) than the danger from either cold or fire. Electric wiring for heat or *lighting* must be properly fused ; the wires should be in jointless steel pipes fixed outside the walls ; and the pipes should themselves be earthed to a water main. There should be control switches external to any Repository door for lighting or power points within.

Unauthorized Entry will be provided against if possible by an efficient system of patrolling during off hours and in any case by a very carefully devised system for the custody of keys ; none of which, saving external ones (and those only in the custody of selected officials), should be allowed to go outside the building. At least one person officially connected with the Archives should always be within reach in case of an emergency.[1]

If the Archivist has not the supervision of construction and must utilize an old building, he must endeavour to incorporate as many of the above features as possible and increase, if possible, all precautions and supervision. He should clearly, in such circumstances, pay particular attention to the question of the accessibility of his more important archives, to schemes for evacuation in case of need (having special regard to windows which can be opened easily, widely and outwards), and to the

[1] It follows that in the case of a large Repository there should be an official residence annexed to, though separate from, the Repository. The policy of separating all staff quarters from the Repository is a good one because it renders unnecessary certain restrictions upon the staff in the matter of fires, &c. Except for this reason I am not disposed to consider it so essential as do some authorities ; and it is not always compatible with convenience in working.

ready availability, for those responsible, of information as to the whereabouts of particular classes of Archives.

(*b*) *The Repository* (*continued*). Of other considerations in the planning of Repositories perhaps the most important is that of *Air*, which is the best of all preservatives of parchment and paper. If it is absolutely necessary even consideration of Cleanliness must come second. The natural conclusion is that where circumstances permit a ' conditioning ' plant for air should be installed. If this is not done (and there is more than one objection to the scheme [1]) it should be made possible to secure at will circulation of the air *in all directions*.[2]

Light is also valuable, though it is not wise to expose documents too much to the direct rays of the sun because of their possible effect in ' fading ' the ink or warping the parchment or paper. Too much sunlight is also definitely harmful to leather.

Cleaning space should always be left on every floor into which documents can be removed while their place is being cleaned, painted, and so forth, and no large collection should be without the installation of a vacuum cleaner, with brush attachment, for the cleansing of the parcels, &c., themselves. The best system of cleaning for a large Repository is one of regular rotation by which one space on each floor is always empty and in process of being cleaned.

Convenience in working should be consulted by the provision, first, of easy means of communication between all parts of the building ; second, of a space (capable of being locked up) reserved for reception, sortation, stamping and numbering ; third, of lifts, in the case of large buildings, placed centrally and capable of accommodating a man and a barrow (a lock-up Lift-Room at top and bottom is also a desirable feature) ; and fourth, of accommodation for students in a like central position.

[1] With diffidence (because much scientific opinion is against me) I venture to observe that we have as yet no proof that conditioning air, while it certainly removes elements of danger, does not also remove some elements of positive value.

[2] For some description of recent experiments in regard to Air Circulation and the prevention of mildew in English Repositories see Appendix IV. The questions of racking and make-up are of course affected: see below pp. 49, *seq.*

All these things make for a decrease in the handling and a consequent increase in the safety of documents.

(*c*) *The Repository: provision of accommodation for students.* Since this subject has been mentioned, it may be worth while to mention one or two notable requirements. Natural light should come, in large quantities, from the left of the reader (so that no shadow is cast by his writing hand) : failing individual tables the ideal would probably be a room having one side almost entirely of windows, from which long narrow tables (with the students' chairs on one side only) should project not quite at right angles, so that every one sat slightly in advance of his left-hand neighbour. Overhead lighting is not desirable [1] if good side-lighting can be obtained. It is important that handling and rubbing of documents should be minimized, and therefore stands for volumes (and, if possible, special stands for rolls and other particular forms of documents) should be provided and their use made obligatory. Artificial light should take the form of shaded electric lights which can be lowered to within a few inches of the documents. Shelves for Indexes and Reference Books [2] are as obvious a provision as tables and chairs. Other arrangements with regard to the use of Archives by the public are mentioned below.

(*d*) *The Repository: General Plan.* We discuss below the question of shelving, but so far as the actual building is concerned there is no doubt that the most economical plan is, as a rule, the stack system. By this the space wasted on corridors and party walls is saved, the divisions of the Repository being by floors only. These, however, whether they are iron stages in a single lofty hall or room, or actual ceilings and floors,

[1] For *Photography* on the contrary, and for *Repair Work*, overhead lighting of the right kind is highly desirable. A roof of the ' weaving shed ' pattern is recommended—a series of angular glass roofs with sides of unequal dimensions ; the larger side in each case having, if possible, a North exposure. This means that in planning a new Repository the Archivist should reserve his top floor for Repairs and Photography. For the latter he would naturally provide also all kinds of electrical installations (see paragraph (*n*) of this section).

[2] A sketch of an Archivist's Minimum Bibliography is given in Appendix II ; and the Archivist's Library will presumably be at the disposal of the Student : but a certain quantity of reference books, constantly needed, must be kept in the Students' Room.

should not be far apart : it is undesirable to have shelves out of easy reach ; because this may lead to the damaging of documents, especially heavy ones, when they are being taken out from a top shelf. Eight feet from floor to ceiling is a good standard.

One thing which militates against the stack system should not be forgotten : that is the possibility that a system of rooms or cells, with stout party walls, might suffer less from a bomb. On the whole authorities, after inclining for a while against this view, seem now to be in favour of it : though they emphasize the fact that some vent to any enclosed strong room would be necessary in order to prevent damage to the general structure of the building from the pressure of gases generated in the confined space. It should also be remembered that if hasty evacuation of *part only* of a Repository becomes necessary a system of packing in Rooms will facilitate it. One authority [1] advocates a combination of the two systems for this reason.

The question, of course, arises only in the case of large Repositories.

(*e*) *The Repository : Internal Fitting and Packing.* Regretfully, since this book was first written, I have come to the conclusion that in most cases the combined necessity for air circulation,[2] for a standard size in shelving and for easy handling by persons who may not be very skilled or very careful [3] is against the system of presses running out on rails into a central gangway when their contents are required ; and is, moreover, against very close packing. After some years of experiment in large Repositories full of parcels, boxes and volumes of varying sizes, shapes and kinds, I have been led to the uncomfortable conclusion that one cannot hope to fill half the available cubic space with racking : and that in many cases the cubic space of the racking itself, when packed, will also not be half filled : actually I know a number of well-packed rooms where not more than one-fifth of the total cubic space is occupied by

[1] The present Archiviste Général at Brussels, M. Brouwers.

[2] See Appendix IV.

[3] In a small Repository where the Archivist will do his own ' producing ' of documents these considerations would of course be modified.

documents. In small Repositories, where the depth of shelves could be individually adapted to the documents to be housed this proportion could be considerably increased : but in any case the Archivist should be warned against hoping too much from the amount of space he has available for racking and from the amount of racking he has available for filling.

The best alternative to a moveable-rack system will be one in which the walls may be lined with shelves in the old-fashioned way if space allows, but the bulk of the room-space will be filled with rectangular islands of double shelves back to back ; the islands being parallel to each other and separated by passages of a suitable width ; and a cross passage at one end (if possible one at each end) giving communication from one passage to another. Unless the dimensions of the room are specially designed beforehand in view of proposed racking of a given depth, the details of arrangement cannot be made subject to a fixed rule. But in general one may say that given a room with windows on one side and a door facing them the presses should be at right-angles to these walls ; that each of the passages between them should start from a window ; and that the door should open straight on to one of the passages. The width of these passages should be not much less than three feet, to allow space for a man with a truck and to leave room for the pulling out of large packages from the shelves.[1] The staircase to an upper floor is generally best placed against a wall : it should be straight, not much less than three feet in width and having treads of about nine inches and rises of seven. Mezzanine floors should if possible be of grating form to allow of vertical movement of air. Lighting should be in trough reflectors fixed to the ceiling (or the underside of a mezzanine floor) and angled to light the shelves from top to bottom.

For the general construction of the racking (uprights, connecting pieces and shelf bearers) there seems to be, until stainless steel becomes cheaper, no alternative to painted steel or iron : the ends and backs of the presses being of some form

[1] Abnormally deep shelving would of course require correspondingly broadened passages.

of sheeting pierced with holes [1] for ventilation. The choice of material and form for the shelves is another matter and as it is affected by more than one consideration I have made it the subject of an Appendix : [2] here we need only add that for the convenience of interchangeability a standard span (three feet) and depth (fourteen inches [3]) are suggested, at least in the case of a large Repository.

(*f*) *The Make-up of Documents.* We reach at this point a subject one side of which (the arrangement of documents from the point of view of packing convenience) remains to be discussed below under the heading of *Arrangement and Classification.* But there are certain simple facts which may be stated here. The chief difficulty lies in reconciling the necessity of letting in air with the necessity (in such places as London, particularly) of keeping out dirt in the form of dust. Different shapes and forms of documents lend themselves to a greater or less degree to boxing and enveloping and in some instances it may be necessary to choose between cleanliness and air, in which case air must have the first place. As a rule, however, it is possible to meet both : giving at the same time due consideration to a third very important matter—*ease in production, possibly by unskilled hands.*

Since this book was first written a good deal of further experiment has been made : but while I think this justifies the re-writing of the present section at some length so as to include detailed description of certain types of make-up which have been proved to be reasonably efficient, I would add that fresh experience has strengthened my conviction that this subject can never be treated definitely, because new materials and forms continue and will continue to appear and because the

[1] Care must be taken that it is not scratchy.

[2] Appendix III (*a*). For convenience I have added also specifications for a form of general service racking which has proved convenient in practice : and for racks to take outsize documents and very long rolls (see below division (*f*) of this section) : the use of the latter would, of course, mean some modification in the planning of a room into which they were to be introduced.

[3] This means of course that a double press with the back taken out will give us 28 in. shelving for outsize packages.

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS LIBRARY

number of special cases which require *ad hoc* treatment will always be considerable. It is possible, however, to prescribe certain common forms which (perhaps with variation of the materials used) should continue to be adequate for a vast number of ordinary cases and should serve also as basis for the devising of *ad hoc* arrangements for abnormals. The four principal types of documents to be treated are *Rolls*, *Outsize Documents of all kinds*, *Loose Documents* (falling into several subdivisions) and *Volumes*. The chief general considerations to be borne in mind (apart from the questions of air and cleanliness) are first that while folding in one direction may in some cases do little harm to paper or parchment a second folding *across* the line of the first *must* ultimately cause deterioration, even if the document is never used ; secondly that the Archivist's chief problem is generally bulk—he cannot give his documents that individual treatment which he would like to give them and which they would receive if they were a handful of specimens in a small Museum ; thirdly that if individual documents out of a number kept in a single receptacle are to be taken out for ' production ' to Students then the larger the receptacle, and the larger the number of its contents, the greater the risk of carelessness (leading to damage or misplacement) by the member of the Staff who ' produces ' ; [1] and finally that if the whole box is to be ' produced ' in the Students' Room then again the larger the number of individual documents thus given out together the greater will be the difficulties of preventing carelessness or malpractice on the part of the Students.

Before going on to deal with particular types of document we may add here some remarks about a kind of receptacle which we shall have occasion to recommend in more than one connexion—the light box.

The chief considerations which operate in the choice of material for this are that it should be strong and light, free from acid content which might have an ill effect on the documents placed in it, and capable of bending up on a scored line to make

[1] Experience since this book was first written has led to an increased emphasis on this importance of a *small* type of receptacle.

joints which will be both better and cheaper than the artificial joint of two pieces fastened together at an angle. The material which at the time of writing is the best known from these points of view is that called in England 'leatherboard';[1] and a specification for boxes made of this is given in Appendix III (*b*). The great advantage of this pattern is that the boxes (which should not be more than five inches in depth[2]), being rectangular in section, pack well on their edges,[3] resting either on their shorter or longer side, and can conveniently be labelled with pasted-on numbers on the exposed edge. Note that they should always be packed *full*:[4] the contained documents being thus kept in shape by pressure from the lid of the box there is no need for tight packing of the boxes on the shelf and indeed a few inches of space should always be left on each shelf so that the producer can get his fingers on each side of any box he wants to pull out. One more general remark: if a quantity of documents separately numbered are to be enclosed in a single box that quantity should if possible be a multiple of five or ten.

Rolls (i. e. true Rolls, consisting of sheets of paper or parchment fastened head to tail) may be mounted at one end on a 'guard' of fine unbleached linen.[5] This linen is then pasted round a one-inch cardboard cylinder or wooden roller; care being taken to get it quite true, so that the document will automatically roll up straight and tight on to this central core. At the other end of the roll a similar linen guard, with a tape, will serve as outer cover or the roll may simply be taped round

[1] It is not suggested that this material is ideal: its life, for instance, is probably not more than 20 years in some cases. But it is the best cheap material I know. The better qualities have a glazed surface.

[2] It is better not to exceed four, which is quite sufficient thickness to be gripped by a hand of normal size: the danger is that an impatient 'producer' may catch hold of the lid by its edge in order to pull the box out. It is a good plan to tie or buckle round very heavy boxes a piece of broad tape or webbing with a loop in it to pull the box out by.

[3] i. e. the box, when closed, is turned half over and stood on one of what, when it was open, would be its vertical walls: it is not normally stored on the flat.

[4] It follows, of course, that the Archivist should keep in stock boxes of varying depth. If for any reason a full box is not possible, a tape may be passed through holes in the base of the box and the document or documents tied down.

[5] The weave known as aeroplane fabric is very suitable.

and dropped into a standard pattern leather board box of square section ; or, for economy, a number of rolls may be placed in a larger box.

Documents of the *Plea Roll* type (a number of long membranes piled one on top of the other and fastened together at the head) may be treated in the same way, provided the membranes composing it are few. Alternatively they may be fastened through guards at their head to one edge of a stiff card board half the size of the longest membrane. The opposite edge of this card is let into a slit down one side of a small cardboard cylinder [1] and when this contrivance is in position the roll may be turned over it and tied, forming a convenient package half its natural size without any danger of a crease at the place where it is folded. Where the membranes are too numerous for either of these methods to be applicable one of the portfolio forms described in Appendix III (*d*) may be adapted to suit.

Outsize Documents. The presence of individual documents of this description among smaller ones—a large map, for instance, folded many times in order to be bound into a volume : or a large Royal grant, with seal, forming part of a Series the rest of which consists of small Deeds—is one of the cases where removal of a document from its proper place is justified in the interest of its preservation : it must of course be replaced by a dummy to explain whither it has been transferred and itself marked with a note to shew whence it came. All this, however, does not affect the problem of its packing, in regard to which we may suggest three main lines of procedure. A document of this kind may be folded once or twice in the way described above in connexion with Plea Rolls (this is the least desirable way and only feasible if the document is comparatively narrow), or it may be kept flat, or it may be rolled.

The limit up to which outsize documents of a normal kind [2]

[1] It is best to cover the whole of the board and cylinder thus combined with linen or paper pasted on.

[2] A quite abnormal document, such as one at the Public Record Office, among the *Commonwealth Exchequer Papers*, which has about 900 applied seals on it, may of course have a special case built for it.

may be kept flat is that of the size up to which folders for it can be made which will be reasonably light and yet rigid enough to be pushed on to the shelves of a special rack [1] such as is described in Appendix III (*a*) : a reasonably practicable folder or portfolio to contain as many as ten such documents [2] can be made of a thin pulp or strawboard as large as 40 inches by 30 inches : and this will cover any document without seals which normally occurs.[3]

Documents too large for the above may be guarded at each end with unbleached linen, or mounted on linen projecting beyond the two ends : the surplus linen at one end is then wrapped round and pasted to a four-inch strawboard cylinder slightly longer than the width of the document, in the manner prescribed above for Rolls ; that at the other serves as a cover after the document has been rolled up and has tapes attached to tie round : it is a good plan to cut the linen at this outer end to a breadth several inches greater than the length of the cylinder so that the projecting portions of linen, when all is rolled up, can be turned over and tucked inside the cylinder.[4]

Loose Documents. Apart from special cases, with which we cannot attempt to deal, these may be divided into four principal types :

(i) the completely *miscellaneous* ; where we have, for instance, half a dozen small rolls, ten pieces of parchment of varying sizes, three original files of small writs, and a book ; the whole forming a single unit :

(ii) documents of the '*Deed*' *type*—one of the commonest of problems for the local Archivist :

(iii) *specially fragile* documents—notably those with seals ; and

[1] I have discarded, after experiment, the idea of an architect's plan cabinet with drawers because to be economical one has normally to put so many documents in a single drawer that production becomes a difficult if not dangerous operation.

[2] It is better of course to use one folder for each document : or alternatively each may be put in a limp folder of manilla, such as is described in Appendix III (*d*), and a number thus wrapped may be put in the stouter folder or portfolio (*ibid.*).

[3] Specifications for the manufacture of this, and of a more elaborate board with buckram flaps for use with documents having appended Seals, are given in Appendix III (*d*).

[4] A simple racking for such rolls is described in Appendix III (*a*).

(iv) collections of leaves of more or less the *same size*, and that not unreasonably large, such as a series of foolscap files from a modern office. Generally speaking this type consist of paper documents.

In regard to (i) we can only recommend in general that the documents should be packed in boxes ; that so far as possible they should be ' produced ' singly, by their individual (sub-) numbers and not by the box ; and that in the interest both of packing and production large boxes, taking a considerable number of documents, should *not* be used. It may sometimes be found convenient to segregate the different forms within a single box, putting all the single flat leaves together : in this case it is a good plan to paste in the lid a list of the contents of the box shewing the form of each document, so as to facilitate production.

In the case of (ii) (parchment *Deeds* and similar documents) there is an accepted method which has stood the test of time—the use of square flapless envelopes of cartridge, manilla or linen-backed paper ; each envelope and the document contained in it being numbered and a suitable quantity of them standing, like the cards in a card-index, in a box constructed to fit them. Many deeds have to be folded for this form of packing but no harm will be done if the folds are made in the same direction and not heavily creased : and seals, if appended, may be turned back so as to pack between the folds. This system makes the ' production ' of individuals easy even if fifty or more are stored in one box ; and if they are not packed too tightly (not more than three-quarters of capacity is a good rule [1]) it will be found that by expansion they automatically keep themselves from shifting and prevent pressure on the seals [2] which occur so frequently on this type of document. Where the seals are particularly fragile a shallow square cardboard box of the same size may be substituted for the envelope.[3]

[1] i. e. not more than three-quarters of the box is filled when the documents in their envelopes are squeezed tightly together.

[2] Appended seals, if the document is folded, may be turned over so as to lie between the folds.

[3] This without prejudice to other methods suggested for the protection of seals.

The only question is—what size shall the envelope be? In view of the enormous increase in the size of later deeds some Archivists favour the use of two or even three series of envelopes (and boxes) of different size : if, for convenience, the Archivist compromises on a single series of medium size (say 8 inches square [1]) he will find it wise to enclose very small early deeds in a doubled leaf of stout paper just small enough to push into the envelope.

(iii) The packing of documents with seals (together with the taking of moulds and casts) has been dealt with elsewhere [2] but a few points may be mentioned. The object of the Archivist in regard to seals applied to the face of the document (whatever their period and material—whether they are of true wax, shellac, or papered wafer) is to prevent pressure or bending. In the case of seals appended there is special danger owing to their weight and the ease with which they may be accidentally knocked : it is also desirable when the seal is large to take the weight off the tongue, tag or laces by which it hangs.

Various methods of meeting these difficulties are described in the article mentioned : a pad or wrapping of cotton-wool in waxed tissue or grease-proof paper is nearly always valuable ; a cardboard box [3] holding a large appended seal may itself be attached to the document, or to a stiffened folder containing the document, by a tape slightly shorter than the attachment of the seal ; a single document with delicate applied seal (even if it be a leaf in a book [4]) may by a little contrivance be attached to a thin sheet of cardboard of the same size, or a smaller piece of cardboard may be attached to the back of the document,[5] so as to secure the desired rigidity ; a layer of cardboard with a hole in it, fastened over or round the seal may obviate pressure ;

[1] For small early deeds 6 inches is generally large enough.

[2] See below, division (*m*) of this section and articles there cited.

[3] Contemporary ' skippets ' of metal or other material should of course be left *in situ* if possible : but if they are of iron precautions must be taken, by means of wrappings or boxes enclosing them, to prevent injury to the document from rust.

[4] In this case the board will have a small hinged piece fastened to the side of the sheet next the back. Seals on a Treaty in book form have been successfully treated in this way.

[5] For instance, I have sometimes had a square of thin cardboard, about twice the dimensions of an applied seal, fastened to the back of a document.

and so on. Remain always a number of examples to be treated by *ad hoc* methods. But one device may be mentioned as particularly convenient not only for seals but for all kinds of delicate small documents—the tray. A series of these, piled one on the top of another, give the equivalent of a large box unit ; and not only prevent pressure on the documents but also make those packed lowest as easily accessible as those at the top. The system is perfectly safe, and reasonably inexpensive, if the trays are properly made.[1]

(iv) Touching this class of loose documents (which includes the vast majority of Archives produced by modern Offices) we may premise that their preservation in the ' loose ' state after they reach the Archive condition is most undesirable from every point of view : to pick out from a really large mass of papers the particular document—or more often a large number of particular documents—which the student desires to see involves a great deal of not unskilled labour ; and on the other hand to produce large bundles of loose papers and let the student find for himself what he wants is to invite damage and misplacement, if not worse. There is no doubt that the proper course is to make up documents in units of a tolerable size and in a manner which will safeguard the documents against a careless or unscrupulous student ; and this means that they *must* be fastened together tightly at more than one place on their left edge. The old way of doing this was to bind in volumes; the method to be advocated here is that known at the Public Record Office [2] as filing, where a pile of documents (including material to form a cover) is stabbed vertically with a series of holes (generally five, or seven, or two sets of three) in its left margin and laced up through these with strong cord.[3] The unit thus created, or a number of units, is then stored in a suitable box.

We may here interpolate the remark that the file in the old

[1] A specification is given in Appendix III (*c*).

[2] The method has three advantages over binding : it is cheaper, it gives better protection, and if the papers are found to require re-arrangement a file (unlike a volume) can be easily taken to pieces and put together again.

[3] A description of this process in more detail is given in Appendix III (*e*).

sense of that word (i. e. a quantity of documents strung together on a string or wire passing through a hole in the centre of them) not infrequently survives from early times. Often it has been broken up : often, too, in the interest of the student (and of the documents) it may have to be broken up deliberately ; its contents becoming to all intents and purposes ' loose documents '. Note that this breaking up should not be done if it can be avoided and that most meticulous notes must be made of the precise nature of the ' filing ', the holes used, and so forth.

For either of these operations the documents ought to be mounted on guards,[1] for they should not themselves be pierced : this adds considerably to the cost of the process but if it is not done we shall have to resort (in the case of binding) to the plan of whip-stitching single sheets into gatherings for sewing, which has many objections,[2] while filing will be impossible unless we can be sure that all the leaves have a blank margin of 1½ inches.[3]

Unfortunately the enormous bulk of modern Archive accumulations makes it sometimes inevitable that the considerations just adduced should go by the board : moreover there are cases (where, for instance, fees are to be charged, or where only a proportion of a given class of documents is open to inspection) in which ' production ' *must* be either by single documents or by small units unsatisfactorily strung together in the Office in which they originated. Under such circumstances preservation in the loose state becomes unavoidable : and as a *pis aller* therefore we may suggest that the documents, in fives or tens if they are all singles, or in any units in which they were strung together in their originating office, should be enclosed in manilla folders,[4]

[1] For methods of rapid and efficient guarding see Douglas Cockerell, *Bookbinding and the Care of Books* (1901).

[2] For one thing it rules out or should the ' spring back ' type of binding : and even if ordinary ' stationery style ' is used experience has shewn that whip-stitched leaves tend to break away from the sewing in use.

[3] It may be remarked in passing that the habit of writing in the margin is so ingrained in some persons that nothing short of a greased or blackened margin would restrain them : moreover many of the papers preserved in any given Office are received from outside sources over whose methods the recipient has naturally no control.

[4] A pattern is suggested in Appendix III (*d*).

numbered to correspond with their contents; and that a suitable number of folders (fives or tens again, if possible, to facilitate 'production') should then be packed in a leather-board box. The Archivist who has to accept from time to time quantities of papers of this description may save himself much trouble if he can persuade the executive branch to adopt a method of stringing together related papers through at least two holes [1] on the left side and perhaps even to pack its papers itself, sometime before their transfer, in the folders and boxes described. He may also safeguard himself if he can secure that a list of the numbers alleged to be in each box shall be pasted inside the lid.[2]

It will be noted that we have left out of account here all forms of parcelling. The fact is that present-day experience shews boxes to be as cheap as, or even cheaper than, any parcelling material other than paper; equally lasting; more efficient in protecting the documents; giving more ready access to their contents; and (being rectangular) easier to pack. They also lend themselves better to labelling—a question of some importance with which we shall deal below. There is so far as we know only one limitation to their use—that of size. The Archivist who has the misfortune to be saddled with loose flat documents measuring much more than 18 inches in length or breadth [3] in quantities such that he cannot deal with them in the manner described under *Outsize Documents* above will have to fall back on some form of portfolio having at least one stiff side, probably of stout millboard, such as we describe in Appendix III (*d*). He will be wise to subdivide the contents of these also (for their own safety and for facility of production) by placing fives or tens in manilla folders of similar pattern (but heavier material) to those recommended for use inside the boxes.

[1] The practice, common in modern Offices, of 'filing' papers through a single hole in one cover is objectionable not only because a paper may be so easily detached by a sharp pull but because single leaves tend to project at all angles from the front of the 'file' and become creased and broken.

[2] He should then make a rule that on the first occasion when such a box is opened in his own department the list shall be checked through and a note of the fact made on it.

[3] Such, for instance, as the *Chancery Proceedings* (numbering probably over a million) at the Public Record Office.

Volumes. These fall into two divisions :

(i) volumes made from a collection of individual documents; and

(ii) true volumes made up of gatherings of folded sheets designed for binding, whether the actual binding was done before or (a not infrequent occurrence) after the writing.[1]

It will have been observed that we do not favour the first of these forms : and though economy may demand that a book of this kind, if the sewing is in good condition, should be left as it stands, the opportunity should normally be taken, whenever it requires repair, to put it into the more suitable ' file ' form : though naturally careful record should be kept (including specimens of the material) to shew the form in which it was previously made up.[2]

The ' true ' volume is in quite another category. Here the book form is part of the original Archive character and should be carefully preserved : see below the separate notes on *Binding*.[3]

There is one borderline case. In some instances where a number of small books are bound up into a larger volume it may be argued that this larger binding is characteristic and should be preserved. This is certainly the fact in the instance of some limp vellum volumes of annual Accounts preserved by the Grocers' Company, a quantity of which were periodically ' tacketted ' just as they stood, without new sewing or any other modification, into a vellum case. On the other hand large masses of the Admiralty Logs—made in small limp *pro forma*

[1] Blank books supplied by the Stationers ready for writing begin to occur as soon as paper becomes plentiful—in the latter part of the 15th century.

An amusing instance of the relation between binder and writer was noted recently in the case of a *Court Book* belonging to the Borough of Dover. The Sewer apparently designed this to stand on a shelf : the Clerks used it as a Ledger (i. e. a book which is kept in a horizontal position) and had it furnished with a flap and clasps; and since they wanted to keep these out of the way on the left, used it upside down.

[2] Even early bindings must generally, in the interest of the documents they contain, be treated in this way. Thus, quite early in their history at the State Paper Office, quantities of loose papers in the Colonial series were made up, without being guarded, into vellum volumes : with the result that sewing at the backs of the leaves, and folding at the fore-edge have played havoc with many of them. In repair these are guarded and filed, the characteristic vellum sides and back of the casing being filed with them.

[3] Division (*l*) of this section.

books of varying sizes—were subsequently made up at the Admiralty into larger volumes without any regard to suitability ; and have latterly been reduced to their original state and boxed. The memory of the Admiralty make-up is preserved in their numeration and in portions of the binding material (including all stamps and lettering pieces) which are securely made up with them in their latest form.

(*g*) *Handling and damage.* A considerable number of dangers have to be faced in connexion with the use of Archives by students : assuming that the Archivist himself is invariably above reproach he yet cannot expect the same carefulness in all the students who use Archives. To forbid smoking is an obvious precaution. To forbid ink is not so invariably a rule ; [1] and in fact it may be well to defend this regulation by pointing out that even fountain-pens and stylographs of the best makes in the most careful hands sometimes blot and that one blot may be infinitely disastrous. Students are apt to discredit this last suggestion and should have their attention directed to the tale of Paul-Louis Courier and the MS. of *Daphnis and Chloe* : it would be indiscreet to quote a more modern example. Recent experience would induce me to exclude also the purple ' indelible ' pencil from all use in Archives : if only on account of the danger of the dust from its sharpening. The marking of Archives with any form of writing is dealt with below, this being a danger which goes beyond the mere physical defacement ; but of course it should be absolutely forbidden to students.[2] Should a mark of some kind be made, in spite of all precautions, on an Archive, the Archivist has two courses open to him. Either he may invoke the aid of an expert chemist, who will very possibly be able to remove it, or he may attach to the Archives a statement authenticated by signature and date of what has occurred. He will probably find it wisest of all to combine the two procedures.[3]

[1] Its use is permitted, for example, in the *Archives Nationales* at Paris and in the British Museum.

[2] Even in the case of a Library of Printed Books of any value it is usual to make such an offence, wilfully committed, carry with it the penalty of exclusion.

[3] We have had occasion more than once to point out the usefulness of the authenticated and dated note by an Archivist concerning any archive peculiarity observed by him in any of his charges. The practice of former Archivists shows that the value

In the turning of pages and the like incidents of handling some people apparently find it impossible to be careful : against such dangers the Archivist has little shield except the most complete supervision possible, the enforcement by every means of regulations as to the immediate reporting of all accidents, the prevention of all unnecessary touching by means of proper stands [1] and suitably covered weights, and a jealously guarded rule by which he may at his discretion refuse to produce any document on the ground of its physical state. It is probable that the extended use of photographic facilities,[2] which make the production of photographic copies easy and inexpensive, will do much to help in the preservation of Archives.

(*h*) *Theft.* Against this and other ill practices of students—the actual commission of which would not be difficult where the document in question was small and the Students' Room large and full of workers—the Archivist has, apart from supervision, and moral deterrents, little defence : though supervision, if it includes the careful preservation of record of every person who studies Archives and the documents to which he or she has had access, may be made tolerably adequate. It may be well to

of this habit has been generally appreciated. Thus in what is now known as *Coram Rege Roll* 352, at the Public Record Office, Membrane 131 *b* (dorse) ends with the words ' plus de isto placito in rotulo sequenti ' : to this is added a note ' set in anno domini 1604 cum hoc recordum abbreuiavi non patet ubi hic Rotulus est nec aliquod signum ubi consui debet de quo miror multum. Arth' Agarde.'

I am indebted for this pleasant example to Professor Ehrlich, of the University of Lwów. An even earlier private example is afforded by a note in a fourteenth-century hand attached to a fragmentary document belonging to Winchester College, which the Bursar of the College, Mr. Herbert Chitty, was good enough to show me : ' *in hoc sacculo continetur carta. R. dei gracia Regis Anglie . . . cum partibus minutis sigilli regii confracti et carta est in parte putrefacta quo minus legi potest.*' Such annotation is, of course, not uncommon ; but the Archivist should make it frequent : anything outside the most ordinary routine of conservation and use deserves noting.

[1] See above (p. 48), § 5 (*c*). No student should under any circumstance be allowed to write on paper placed on the document except for purpose of tracing, which should only be done by special permission and with special precautions for the use of a soft pencil.

[2] The Photostat machine, working by electric light, produces negatives on sensitized paper : but cheaper and much more rapid devices using cinema film are now being perfected. A student working recently with one of these made easily in one day over 1000 tiny negatives to be used later with a projecting lantern.

add here that if only as a technical guarantee supervision must include always the presence of an official of the Archive department in the Students' Room during the whole time it is in use. As regards theft in particular—the Archivist can at least make it unprofitable by a systematic stamping of every detached (or readily detachable) leaf or membrane ' produced ' with a metal stamp and printer's ink.[1] He must remember, however, that this is not an absolute defence because it is unlikely that any ordinary thief would trouble to steal articles so unsaleable as most Archives.

In fact (it is worth stressing) *the person against whom we are to guard is not as a rule the ordinary criminal but the abnormally minded ' Student '.*

Obviously if we can dispense with the ' production ' of those ' loose ' documents to whose make-up (or lack of it) we took exception above we shall have increased security : nor indeed should any student be allowed to have at the same time such a number of single documents (even though each has a separate reference) as would make checking difficult when they were returned. These rules are by no means invariably enforced, but they are good ones. And in any case every student should be required to give a separate signed request for every Archive having a separate number.

It has seemed hardly necessary to enlarge here upon the necessity that every student admitted to study Archives should be in some way accredited : nor to deal with the various systems[2] under which he may ask for and have produced to him the Archives he requires. Forms of request and systems of production are many. In some large foreign Archives, for example, the system is more complicated and makes more demands upon both Archivist and Student than that in force at the Public Record Office : and on the other hand a small local Repository would not require anything like the safeguards in use at Chancery Lane. So long as the necessity for supervision is well understood and so long as the rule enunciated in the next section

[1] On this subject see also below, Part IV, § 2 (*d*).

[2] Accounts of these will be found in Royal Commission (1910), *First Report*, Part II.

(that there must be a signature for every stage in the production of an Archive from its place in the repository to the student) is strictly enforced, the Archivist may be left to evolve for himself the most simple system his special circumstances permit. It is unlikely, however, that any Students' Room, even the most modest, will be able to dispense with a Register shewing, chronologically, all 'productions' of documents to Students.

(*i*) *Misplacing.* This question of the student's use of Archives may lead us to speak of the last of Agarde's dangers ; [1] though doubtless he meant more by the word than its literal sense. The efficient administration of Archives involves a system for their 'production', whether on a small or large scale. The only one which is safe is one like that of a registered letter, by which no Archive passes from its place on the shelves without a signature being given for every hand which touches it on the way ; its place being taken in the repository during its absence by a card, large and stout enough not to be lost, bearing its reference and the date and particulars of its removal including the identity of the remover. Its return is simply a reversal of the stages, many or few, through which it passes on its way out. [2] Simplification, then, of the process of 'production' in a large Office can only be by reduction of the number of these stages, not by the omission of any of the precautions in the way of signature.

One thing more. When documents 'produced' have been returned to the repository the cards which during their absence had replaced them on the shelves should not be destroyed but arranged in the order of the documents themselves to form a card index of 'production'. Experience has shewn that this 'production' history of the Archives is not only useful in itself

[1] Cp. a note by him, quoted above, as to a missing membrane.

[2] The misplacement of a document in any large collection is so serious an inconvenience (it may be the work of many days to put the error right) that it is well to have the strictest rules in force on this subject : for example any one engaged on the replacing of documents should make it a rule that once he has withdrawn a card from the shelf the document it represents *must be replaced before another card is touched.*

but valuable because the knowledge of its existence promotes a spirit of carefulness in those whose work it is to produce and replace and whose personal connexion with these operations is thus permanently registered.

(*j*) *Labels.* This subject, though it did not receive separate treatment in my first edition, deserves an interpolation here : if only because clear labelling is obviously one of the best defences against misplacing of a certain kind. We shall see later [1] that any Archive's description is separable into three divisions for which we shall suggest abbreviations taking the form of letters and numbers. Here we need only point out the convenience of a settled and homogeneous system of displaying these devices on the documents or their containers : there will be much less chance of mistake if the same piece of information (the number, for instance, of a document in its series) is always conveyed, so far as labels are concerned, by the use of the same colour, the same position, the same type and the same shape.[2] In large Repositories these mechanical aids are really important ; and they are always convenient.[3]

For most of the forms of make-up here recommended ' stick-on ' labels are suitable, and are the best. For economy they should be printed in sheets and for utility cut out from these with hollow punches having a cutting edge which forms a rectangle with rounded corners—labels so cut will stick better. Where ' tie-on ', or ' tag ', labels are necessitated by the nature of the make-up the best pure rope manilla is recommended as a material, with brass eyelets.

(*k*) *Repairs.*

This is another matter directly connected with production : for while repairs, if the Archive collection is an old one,

[1] See below Part II § 6 (pp. 99, 100).

[2] At the Record Office, for example, when the back of a volume is to be labelled the first two parts of the reference are given in labels printed in scarlet and placed at the head, the third in black-printed labels placed at the tail.

[3] I have spoken here of the regular (reference) labels. Any abnormal ones (such as a label indicating that a particular document is to have special treatment) will obviously require to be distinguished from these (and from each other) by colour, shape, etc.

should be systematically conducted by classes, where the need for them is noticed in individual cases as single documents are produced these should be dealt with, if possible, forthwith. To meet the requirements of 'custody' repair of Archives involves the presence, temporary or permanent, of a skilled repairer on the staff—or working under the supervision of the staff—officially connected with the administration of the repository concerned. Speaking generally we may say that in a large repository the amount of repairing work to be done will be so great that our object must be, while sacrificing no element of efficiency and safety, to secure the greatest possible economy and speed in working.

The question of the extent to which the amateur, with a modest outfit of tools, may attempt the repair of paper and parchment documents was the subject of a recent article in the *Proceedings* [1] of the British Records Association ; and some of the remarks made there may for convenience be repeated here from a different angle. Naturally if work on a larger scale is to be attempted, and by hands other than those of the Archivist himself, one new question arises—that of supervision. But apart from this and the fact that the professional will undertake larger and more difficult operations than the amateur and consequently require an extended outfit of tools [2] and machinery [3] we may take it that the same conditions, resulting in the same principles and rules, will govern the work of both. In general it is to be observed that anyone who is neat-fingered in the ordinary affairs of life can, if he or she chooses to give the necessary time to practice, make a reasonably good repairer : such an one may be advised, once he or she has mastered the

[1] No. 1, 1936 : also printed separately. I have appended to this an abstract of the programme of a demonstration organized for the same body because the operations shewn on that occasion are described : and this is given in a different form below.

[2] To take a single instance the piercing of the guards in the filing process recommended above for loose papers will be done by the amateur with a hand-drill : but the quantity of filing to be done at the Record Office has made it worth while to install an electrical one.

[3] Notably heavy presses, machines for the speedier cutting up of large quantities of repairing material, and (if binding is contemplated) the special presses, etc., required for that work.

first principles, to watch, if possible, a skilled repairer at work—at any rate to examine closely a properly repaired document—and then to accumulate a small kit and some valueless fragments of documents (if possible of varying date and character) and set out to gain practical experience. It is wise to begin with paper rather than parchment.

Principle and Rules of work. The aim of the Archivist is to hand on to future generations the documents confided to him with no diminution in their evidential value : accordingly he has to guard against the destruction not only of those elements whose value as evidence is obvious to him but also of those whose value he does not perceive. A good example of evidence the value of which (now recognized) has been disregarded in the past is furnished by the holes made in sewing.[1]

The Repairer then, it may be laid down, *should endeavour to put nothing into his Archives which was not there when he received it and to take away nothing which was* : and this principle applies not only to tangible things—the material of his document—but to intangible—its qualities. Obviously there will be occasions (when, for instance, his document has a large hole in it) which make an exact observation of this principle impossible : but he will come near to it if he follows two rules :

(i) so far as possible to replace missing material by material of the same kind ; and

(ii) in every instance where what he has done in repair might escape observation to append a signed and dated explanatory note : [2] *he must on no account cover his tracks.*

Materials. Little need be added to what we have just said : but it should be noted that the quality as well as the character

[1] It should be a rule in every repairing department that sewing of the actual fabric of Records should not be practised except in replacement of old sewing and should then be through the original holes. There is no evidence which can on occasion be more valuable than that of old sewing holes : and none which it is easier to confuse or destroy.

[2] To this will be added, if necessary, specimens : for instance, as noted above, a discarded form of binding may be thus represented.

of any new material which is to be used must be equated to that of the old : we want the two to be affected by all the conditions which do affect documents (humidity, for example) in the same way. We should also, while counselling the Archivist to make the fullest use of any advice that the Chemist can give him, warn him in regard to modern materials that *no laboratory test can tell us what the effect of time will be on materials* [1] and that the unique character of Archives makes unjustifiable anything in the nature of experiment in regard to them except where all known methods of treatment have failed (for instance) to arrest decay.[2]

Actually there is, as a rule, little difficulty in obtaining what is necessary : parchment and vellum, made in much the same way as formerly, can still be obtained ; Western papers till the latter part of the last century were nearly all made of rag and sized with animal size, and such paper also is not unobtainable ; and the materials of medieval and later sealing ' waxes ' [3] are known and can be copied. The method of applying the first three of these generally shews automatically what the Repairer has done and in seals the same result can be obtained by using deliberately a different colour in repair. Where a document is only decayed (i. e. when no part is visibly missing or torn) what the Repairer has to supply is the animal size, which in the vast majority of cases (whether the material is parchment or paper) is what the action of either fungus or bacteria has destroyed.[4] Size should be made in the repairing room by simmering down fragments of parchment and vellum in water and should be thick enough to go to a jelly (but not a stiff one) when cold.

[1] The disastrous effect, for example, of experiments with tracing paper, goldbeater's skin and strange adhesives may still be seen in many places in the Public Records.

[2] For this reason the use of materials such as that known in Germany as *zapon* (a celluloid solution used instead of size) has not here been considered.

[3] On the subject of Seals see also some separate remarks in section below.

[4] So far as I am aware no one has yet devised a method of preserving the cheaper modern papers, whose weakness is that of the actual fibres composing them. Something may be done by covering them completely on both sides with transparent but air-excluding material of a permanent character : in the New York Public Library, for instance, certain Newspapers have been thus treated with Japanese paper and rice paste.

In certain cases the use of an alien material is unavoidable : notably three. First when size cannot be used as an adhesive (as it often cannot) paste is required : this again is best made at home and (to avoid the use of preservatives) made frequently.[1] There are times when it would be very valuable to be able to use one of the ready-made ' dry mountants ' : but this is in the nature of an experiment even if it is preceded by a specific report from a chemist ; and it should certainly never be used without one, nor used generally at all.

The second case covers the addition of a guard to one side of a document, by means of which it may be filed or sewn.

The third arises when little or no overlap is available for the affixing of repairing material and some transparent material is therefore necessary : here pure *natural* silk gauze is suggested ; silk being known to withstand the effect of time, and this material, properly applied, being practically invisible.

Methods of repairing Parchment and Paper. It must be premised that no amount of precept on this subject can replace ocular demonstration and experience ; and moreover that good Repairers vary in their technique : but some of the most common processes are described, in stages, below ; and a few remarks of general application may be made here. Taking it for granted that the Repairer is governed by well-understood rules which will prevent the destruction of any part of the document under any circumstances, and of any part of its old covering or labelling without specific consideration or instruction in each case,[2] we may start with a warning that his first

[1] See on the subject of various pastes Douglas Cockerell's *Bookbinding and the Care of Books* (1901). But recent experiments made by Dr. G. H. Fowler seemed to shew that paste made with wheat flour (he recommends Canadian red wheat) is still the best. It should be very thoroughly boiled (a double saucepan is indicated) and made thick ; to be thinned as required in use with water. The use of a pinch of alum (not more than half an ounce to a pound of flour) is traditional in some places : the objection that it may result in a slight additional acidity is to a certain extent balanced by the fact that it makes possible the admixture of a pinch of resin ; which gives an extra ' tackiness ' valuable in some special cases.

[2] This is a point worth emphasizing : many binders (to take one example) find it difficult, when first introduced to Archive work, to realize that they may not even destroy old end-papers.

and invariable proceeding should be to check the numbering of the individual leaves, membranes, &c., composing his document or, if necessary, number them himself; using in the latter case a soft black lead pencil and a method of numerations which will distinguish it from old ones.[1] After this there will normally be (apart from the preliminary separation of membranes or leaves in a roll, file or book) from six to eight operations to perform: the flattening of the document; preparation of new material; application of patches, &c.; drying out; sizing, if this is necessary; and second drying; final pressing; trimming, assembling and make-up. Some of these, of course, may involve several stages.

For *flattening the document* the Repairer relies on water and a soft sponge except where a carbon ink[2] or paint make this impossible: fortunately this happens only in a minority of instances but in the cases (obviously requiring higher degrees of skill) where it does methods range from the simple one of sponging on the reverse side only to various devices[3] for making paper, parchment or vellum (the last two very hygroscopic substances, fortunately) absorb moisture without actual contact. Two warnings may be given at this point: one that documents with paint or carbon on them must never be pressed while in the damp state: the second, that there is a difference between colour which *runs* (on the surface) and colour which *spreads*. The last-named misfortune occurs when absorbent or fibrous material has on it something like a modern coloured ink[4]

[1] At the Record Office a small diamond-shaped frame is drawn round the number.

[2] True inks (made of gall and iron: see below Part IV § 2(*d*)) are stains, penetrating the fibres of the writing material: others (including all the colours of the early limners and the so-called Chinese and Indian inks) are pigments more or less adhering to the surface thanks to an adhesive medium: but in the later medieval period we get sometimes an admixture of carbon and gum with true ink.

[3] An ingenious device employed by Mr. Cockerell for parchment and vellum work consists of a frame on legs, like a table without a top: the document is suspended on this, in the place where the top ought to be, by means of weights pendent on strings clipped to its edges and hanging over the sides of the frame; in which position it is exposed to the humidity from a neighbouring layer of damped cloth. It is admirable for fine work on delicate materials but rather slow when applied to the coarser vellums and perhaps a little cumbrous for a worker who has large quantities of sheets to treat.

[4] Something like a modern red ink begins to occur fairly frequently in the 17th century, especially for rulings in large formal documents.

and I know no means of preventing it certainly. Both in this case and in that of surface pigments the use of fixatives before repair has been suggested : [1] but I know as yet none that I consider sure.

The *preparation of new material* is based mainly on the parable of new patches on old garments : new paper must be chosen of a consistency to match as nearly as possible that of the old ; and new parchment must be rendered down, to the same end, by filing. Parchment or vellum will need, in any case, to be roughed on one side in that part which is to take the adhesive ; and both parchment and paper, if they are to be used for anything like patching, must have a ' feather ' or irregular edge, the material being thinned away to nothing : this can be done in the case of paper by skilful tearing but parchment requires the paring-knife and file. No patch or edging of new material should ever have a straight or cut edge.

Methods of application are too much a matter of practice for description to be of much profit ; though we may note as fundamental the constant attempt to get old and new to stretch, and again contract, to the same extent and in the same way : from which it results first that document and repairing material must be equally damped and second that in the case of paper the laying lines must run in the same direction. As to the *processes* employed—documents which are only decayed may be treated by mere sizing and pressing, or if written on one side only may be *backed* with new material of the same kind,[2] which can be torn or cut away to reveal any endorsement. Where complete *backing* is not possible the damaged part of the document may be *edged* or *patched* with new material : but whether complete backing is used or only a patch or edging, any considerable hole should be *filled* with a second piece of new

The ' spreading ' power (under the influence of damp) of writing in, or dust from, the purple variety of ' indelible ' pencil is one of the reasons why that product should never be allowed near documents.

[1] A well-known fixative is a solution of white shellac in alcohol ; which can be sprayed.

[2] It is a permissible departure from principle in the case of very large documents (especially parchment ones) to *mount* on unbleached linen instead of *backing* with their own material.

material, of the size and shape of the hole, dropped into it from the other side [1] after the first operation has been performed. In the case of a paper sheet written on both sides the best method (though expensive) as a rule is *framing* ; where a complete sheet of new paper is pasted down over the old and the centre of it immediately torn away again to reveal the writing.[2] With all these processes silk gauze, normally laid on [3] underneath the other new material, is employed when exceptional fragility, or the absence of sufficient blank space in the document for an overlap, render it essential.

As to the *first drying* we need only say that it is normally accomplished between sheets of absorbent paper under only the lightest of weights : though in some cases a paper document may have a short nip in the press during this process. After drying all paper and some parchment documents are soaked with warm (not hot) *size* laid on with a broad soft brush ; and *again dried*, this time by being hung on lines.[4] They are then placed between sheets of cartridge and these between pressing boards and so put into the *large press* : after which surplus repairing material is *trimmed away* ; and they are *made-up* into final form.

The above is the series of ordinary processes but we may add that a document which has been mounted on new material, specially a large one, may often be conveniently finished by being stretched while damp on a stout millboard covered with waxed tissue paper. For this purpose the new material is cut to project well beyond the old and these surplus edges are

[1] In the case of parchment repair this ' backing and filling ' system has the advantage (that the *whole* of one side of the new material is to be roughed, which saves a good deal of in and out filing. At the Record Office the extended use of this system has justified the installation of a machine by which whole skins are roughed before the patches, &c. are cut out of them. These are, of course, finally treated with file and paring knife before application.

[2] Framing is particularly satisfactory when the document consists of sheets of a book which are subsequently to be re-bound.

[3] It should be laid on dry and pasted over, surplus paste being then removed with the sponge.

[4] They must be shifted from time to time to prevent them sticking.

turned over and pasted on to the back of the millboard : the whole being then left to dry.[1]

We have given here a description of the chief methods and processes employed at the Public Record Office : it is not intended to exclude the possibility of others [2] but it is claimed that these are at least governed throughout by the single principle with which we started. Turning finally to the question of *Implements* we note that very little is needed of a special character. The bookbinder's bone ' folder ', and some kind of bodkin for adjusting the tinier pieces of decayed material, are essentials ; and so are good brushes—a painter's round bristle brush for paste and a large flat one of hair (mounted on its handle with zinc, not iron) for sizing : but after these almost the sole special supply is that of the press and pressing boards. It should be noted, by the way, that a Repairing Room which is supplied with large iron presses will still need a ' nipping-press ' which can be worked with one hand. Scissors and needles, files and knives,[3] bowls, saucepans and sponges, and other like articles, we have already implied. One matter we have not mentioned is that of cleaning materials—bread and the softest draftsman's India rubber : they will be needed but it is to be noted that they cannot generally be used after repair (which acts as a fixative) and in many cases can only be used before it with great care.[4]

[1] It is sometimes a convenient thing to use a stout wooden "ply" board, lined with repairing paper, for this purpose ; and to leave a large document permanently stretched in this way for easy handling. Not being itself stuck to the board it can always be detached in a moment by running a knife round the edge.

[2] One of the most skilful of paper-repairing operations, for instance, is to split the document and mount the two sides on a core of new paper. But experience seems to shew that this is never an unavoidable expedient and it is difficult to believe that any operator could invariably practise it without accident.

[3] A half-round bastard file is best for the purpose. Paring knives the Repairer will generally prefer to make and edge for himself.

[4] I have not thought it worth while to deal here with known methods (such as the use of hydrogen peroxide vapour) for the elimination of stains. For Museum specimens such treatment is probably necessary : but however good a guarantee we may have of the harmlessness of such processes it is, after all, based only on a laboratory test ; and the Archivist, for whom the exhibition of his documents is not a primary object, may well save himself an added anxiety. This is not to say that there may not arise exceptional

We have still to deal with the special aspects of Repair work when applied to *Binding* and *Seals* but before doing so may interpolate one emphatic caution. *The question of what may be done by way of repair to an Archive must always depend on an ability to read and understand it.* A Librarian can generally turn over his books for binding to a skilled workman without any special instruction : the Archivist, if he is not going to repair himself, can seldom (however fortunate he may be in the skill of his Repairers) dispense himself from the responsibility of saying in each case what is, and what is not, to be done in the light of his knowledge of the document's nature and contents. We may also add that the Archivist must see that a Register, carefully kept up to date, shews every document that comes into the Repair Department, with details of the operations performed on it.

(*l*) *Binding*

We have already indicated the limitations within which this form of make-up may be used for Archives On the technical question of methods of binding for new books, or of re-binding for modern ones when this is required, the student may be referred to the work of Mr. Cockerell.[1] It should be hardly necessary to add that if binding is to be used for Archives only the best materials (particularly for sewings, linings, boards and end-papers) should be employed : and Archivists who study in Mr. Cockerell's school will not fail to realize that 'casing' is not binding and that the unseen parts of a book—the sewing and backing and the materials used at those stages—are perhaps more (certainly not less) important than the outside ; which is indeed, apart from the necessity for good materials, a very suitable field for the practice of economy.[2] We may perhaps add that for heavy volumes the spring-back binding is

circumstances (if for example an accidental blot or stain has made reading impossible) when the Archivist, choosing the lesser of two evils, might have recourse to the Chemist's art : though even here he should make quite sure that he cannot attain the same end by the use of special lighting and perhaps photography.

[1] *Bookbinding and the Care of Books*, already cited : I have given, however, one or two specimen specifications in Appendix III (*f*).

[2] For example since every Archive volume has (we shall see later) a reference number

probably best provided the nature of the sheets (and sewing) allows it ; [1] alternatively that (again for heavy books) the old-fashioned true 'flexible' style is worth its cost—if one can find a Binder to do it ; that head- and tail-bands ' blocked ' over glued card or a strip of leather prolong the life of the back of a binding ; that vellum ' points ' to the fore corners of the boards do the same for it in another place ; and that an even greater contributor to long life is the vellum shoe, or slipper, glued and tacked (with brass tacks) to the lower edges of the boards. We should add also that the Archivist must not be too hopeful of finding easily, in a decadent age, a Binder who can undertake even all the known forms of modern binding : it is a regrettable fact, but one which should be recognized, that a great many trained ' Binders ' at the present day are trained only to produce work of a kind which is useless to the Archivist.

As to the materials—one would like to recommend a half or even quarter vellum binding but not every Binder can be trusted with that material : [2] perhaps whole-binding in pure linen buckram is the safest general recommendation ; but flexible style (in which the cover is stuck down on to the back of the sheets) requires of course leather, though buckram may still be used for the sides. Into the controversial question of the cause of decay in modern leathers [3] I do not propose to go : merely saying that in my experience the vegetable-tanned leathers [4] of the early days, if they have had ordinarily fair treatment, are nearly always in quite good condition still, though modern ones standing side by side with them may be crumbling : and that it seems therefore wise, if and when leather must be

which is permanent and which must in any case be affixed to it there is really no need to letter it. This is, in fact, an economy practised at the Record Office.

[1] See some remarks above under the heading of *Make-up*.

[2] The common fault is to stretch it too much, and at too late a stage in the binding, at the joint : the resulting tendency to crack at that point has brought vellum as a binding material into an unmerited disrepute.

[3] A Committee of the Society of Arts published a valuable Report on *Leather for Book-binding* in 1901 : and other Committees have dealt with the subject since.

[4] The old white-tawed leathers have also stood the test of centuries extraordinarily well; but this type of leather is perhaps rather soft for general purposes.

used, to insist [1] on having material which can be proved to be tanned in this way. As a preservative for both old and new the British Museum mixture [2] may be recommended.

But the Archivist-Binder's task does not end with binding and re-binding. Economy often demands a very large amount of *re-backing and patching* ; and indeed this practice (because it disturbs less) has from an Archive point of view positive advantages : moreover it is always better for sheets which have been glued up and backed not to be separated again if that can be avoided. Without going into the possible varieties of work of this kind I would emphasize the fact that here again sound interior work is much more important than outward appearance : [3] a few examples of specifications for modern repair bindings are given in Appendix III (*f*).

So we come to the subject of *Repairing Early* [4] *Bindings* and find great difficulty in saying anything worth while except at inordinate length. The fact is (it is not always fully recognized) that Binders in the past, especially provincial ones and in general those concerned with the production of books for Business rather than Literary purposes, were extraordinarily individual in their methods. The problem of translating the technique of ' flexible ' binding into terms of vellum casing ; [5] the problem of finding a cheap substitute for oak boards ; the problem of sewing the manuscript of a clerk who *would* make up sections of twenty or more sheets instead of the decent quaternion ; the problem of the clerk trained in Italian

[1] The Archivist who buys, for example, the admirable ' Niger ' leather (African goat) must make sure that it has not been re-tanned in this country.

[2] Cedar oil and pure lanoline in hexane. In view of the preponderance of calf among old leathers I like to add a little neat's foot oil.

[3] In this connexion I may perhaps add that in the course of the last ten or fifteen years I have had to take responsibility (in the interests of economy) for a good many thousand re-backings which I certainly do not consider beautiful but which, in view of the work put into them, I do believe to be efficient.

[4] I do not indicate by the word ' early ' any exact date limit : but it would comprehend all bindings of a date much earlier than 1700 and a good many much later.

[5] Vellum cannot conveniently be stuck down on a back : hence the introduction of the case—the ultimate ancestor of the modern cloth binding (so called). Vellum cases are extremely common in Archives and I have seen literally dozens of special devices employed by individual binders during the evolution of this form.

accounting who wanted a 'ledger' opening [1]—numbers of difficulties such as these beset the ancient Binder and left their traces on his work : and all these unpredictable peculiarities it is the task of the Archivist, or his Binder, to note and preserve. He must even be prepared on occasion to go behind the modern work of a destructive predecessor and deduce, perhaps from no more evidence than some old sewing holes and the stain on an end sheet, the style and material of the original binding. It is hardly necessary to add that the Archivist's written note is here particularly important : because very often the indications of its past history are visible only when a book has been stripped for re-covering ; in some instances only when the sheets have been separated for re-sewing.

It is needless to say after this that a Binder who undertakes to deal with early bindings should be master of all the ordinary styles. He must also, if he is to be in a position to do every kind of work which may be required of him, have some of the abilities of a saddler, a joiner, a metal worker and (of course) a trained repairer of documents, particularly of parchment ones : and he must be prepared to do many things which would occasion some surprise in orthodox Binding Shops.

There I propose to leave the subject. I will only add, lest it should be thought that I have already dwelt too long on it, first that abnormalities of binding occur much more late and more frequently in Archives than is generally supposed, and secondly that there exist, I believe, in provincial Repositories in England to-day, really considerable quantities of 'early' bindings of some importance which are in urgent need of repair, and for the repair of which, supposing that it could immediately be put in hand, it would at present be difficult to cater.

(*m*) *Seals.*

In my first edition this subject was treated at some length : but since that date an article has dealt in

[1] This particular problem was not, I believe, solved till the development of the modern spring back (in a series of stages) during the early years of last century. Italian accountancy, involving the use of the ledger with double-page entries, had been introduced in the sixteenth.

detail [1] with most of the points which are of chief moment to the Archivist, and these may be summarized here.

In the first place the question of *Nomenclature* is of more importance in this case than in most : and it is strongly urged that English Archivists should adopt the English phraseology for the description of ' appended ' and ' applied ' seals which was recommended some years ago [2] by an Anglo-American Committee on editing and which, with a little adaptation when (in later periods) methods of affixing seals became somewhat mixed, can be used in all instances.[3] It would also be well if Archivists could use with precision terms such as ' bad impression ', ' defaced ', ' incomplete ' and ' fragment ' : it is sometimes forgotten that a ' fragment ' may be a ' good impression '. Next the Archivist has to bear in mind the three chief varieties [4] of *Seal Material* : these are true wax (used universally throughout the medieval period and decreasingly thereafter) ; shellac (used for most small applied seals from the 16th century onwards and for some others) ; and the late ' wafer ', made of a flour mixture and used with paper in the 18th and 19th centuries.

The question of the *Packing* and *Make-up* of documents with Seals has already been discussed : but we may emphasize the fact that the plan of cutting seals from their documents, under any circumstances, is now definitely discredited : numerous melancholy examples will be found in many large Collections to shew how a seal divorced from its document may lose evidential value and even identity.

The *Repair* of Seals of medieval wax is sufficiently explained in the article already mentioned : the adhesive used is a wax of the same composition [5] as the original but of a different

[1] In *Antiquaries' Journal* IV (1924), p. 388. See further recent article in British Archaeological Association, *Journal*, 3rd Ser., I (1937), p. 93; summarizing the various aspects of Sigillographic study from the point of view of the English Student.

[2] See Institute of Historical Research, *Bulletin*, No. 1.

[3] On this point see also the article in British Archaeological Association, *Journal*, cited above.

[4] Lead, so far as I know, is never used in English seals. Some other abnormal materials are described in the article mentioned in the preceding note.

[5] Two thirds pure bees-wax to one third powdered resin : to be coloured if necessary (for reproductions) with highly levigated *natural* pigments—generally vermilion or verdigris.

colour, the tool a heated knife or bodkin. For extra strength headless steel pins are sometimes thrust into, or buried in, the seal.

Methods of *Moulding* seals (and of taking casts or impressions from the moulds) are also sufficiently explained in the article already cited. It should be remembered that seals are liable to deteriorate even when properly packed and left undisturbed ; and the taking of plaster moulds is therefore a wise precaution. On the other hand moulding by ' squeeze ' [1] (which in the case of ' applied ' seals is often necessary, and in that of papered seals practically always) may be a dangerous process : applied seals, if of true wax and not papered, are liable to come away on the squeezing material unless this is very carefully chalked ; and both varieties have generally an uneven surface which must be carefully supported from below when the pressure of the ' squeeze ' is going on above.

The making of *Casts* from his moulds is particularly valuable if the Archivist can arrange that they, and not the originals, shall be used for study and (particularly) photography : for the latter purpose the use of a plaster made with water coloured by the admixture of yellow ochre is recommended ; the casts thus made being steeped, when dry, in melted paraffin wax and brushed up.

Two final points have been the subject of later investigation [2] —the *repair of shellac seals* and the treatment of *papered ones*. The former may be accomplished with a saturated solution of shellac (or of modern ' sealing wax ' of a different colour) in alcohol. In the case of the latter the trouble is usually that the material under the paper, whether wax or wafer, is as a rule hopelessly broken or decayed. Fortunately the paper, if it has retained the impression, can generally be trusted to go on doing so provided it is protected from any severe pressure :

[1] When this method is used a plaster cast is made from the squeeze and a plaster mould made from the cast for preservation. For the purpose of taking the squeeze any of the children's ' play waxes,' well softened, may be used.

[2] I may take the opportunity of correcting here a printer's error in my article in the *Antiquaries' Journal* : on page 396 the percentage of hydrochloric acid should be not 8 but .36.

and the best expedient is frankly to clear away the remaining fragments from under it and fasten it in position by a touch of paste on that part of it which is *outside* the impression; appending, of course, an explanatory note.

(*n*) *Artificial Aids to Reading.* In the first edition of this book the subject of *Re-agents* was included here ; principally because it is generally considered part of the duty of a Repairer to undertake the restoration of illegible inks : though of course there is no suggestion that he should ink over passages which have faded—a process as criminal as the ' faking ' of missing parts of a seal—many students expect him to apply chemical restoratives. The answer has always been that the two accepted specifics—a solution of gall or ammonium sulphide—were both open to the objection that they could not be applied without the parchment or paper, as well as the ink, being affected ; that gall in all cases, and ammonium sulphide in some, produced a stain which might very probably grow worse with time ; [1] and that ammonium sulphide was not even permanent in its effect on the ink : and the conclusion was that they could not be used generally but only when all possibilities in the way of variation of the kind, quantity or incidence of light had been tried unsuccessfully and when it was proposed either to publish or to photograph the document after treatment.

The development in recent years in the use of artificial light, and particularly of ultra-violet rays in conjunction with various light-filters, in aid either of visual reading or of photography, seems likely to banish the use of re-agents almost entirely in the future, *valde feliciter* : though it may be noted that at present the devices themselves are not wholly free of suspicion as possibly damaging, if used unwisely, to the document and even to the student. The newest methods for their safe and convenient use, as perfected at the Huntington Library, are described in a recently published work : [2] which deals also with

[1] Even the weak solution of gall (1 per cent.) now recommended makes a stain : stronger ones used in the past have sometimes made the documents practically black.

[2] R. B. Haselden, *Scientific Aids for the Study of Manuscripts* (supplement to the Bibliographical Society's *Transactions*, No. 10), 1935.

the use of infra-red rays and with numerous other photographic and microscopic devices.

(*o*) *Special Dangers.* It should be hardly necessary to add in conclusion that the measures recommended in the preceding Sections have been based on experience in England : and that the conditions of preservation, and the materials used, in other countries must necessarily produce special problems which will need special investigation for their solution : to take only one example, the rag paper which (with fair treatment) seems almost everlasting in Europe may undoubtedly prove perishable in tropical climates. [1] Such facts obviously call for independent investigation and new measures based on special laboratory research combined with patient observation and tabulation of the results of experience on the spot. On the other hand it is quite certain that the essential quality of Archives in Ceylon, or South Africa, are the same as those in this or any other country : the Archivist there may have new problems to solve but he should solve them along the same lines.

(*p*) *Archive Museums and Safe Rooms.* We have already deprecated the detachment of what should remain, as they were originally, objects annexed to Archives ; and a Museum, if it is instituted, should not be allowed to become a temptation to such practices : moreover it is to be noted that many good authorities (especially abroad) condemn permanent exhibition on the ground of possible danger from continued exposure to light : also that Museum cases (especially anything in the nature of wall frames) may lead to distortion of the document and often suffer from faulty ventilation. On the other hand we have admitted the propriety of segregating part of a document (we instanced the case of a map folded up in a volume) when its own safety demands it; and there is something to be said for the idea of placing documents having an intrinsic value (for instance those having a golden bulla or silver seal skippet attached to them) or documents of exceptional fragility in a

[1] This remark is based on an examination of European papers which have been subjected to the climatic conditions of (for example) Ceylon.

Museum (or in a safe or Safe Room [1] acting as an adjunct to the Museum) in order to ensure special protection for them.[2] Nor need cases necessarily be ill-arranged, ill-ventilated or unprovided with curtains. It may also be urged that the Museum has educational value as enabling the more spectacular specimen to be exhibited for the benefit of those who do not desire to come in as regular students : and it provides a home for furniture, pictures and miscellaneous objects which often accrue in connexion with Archives while not forming an actual part of them.

Probably the best compromise would be to make provision of Museum cases contingent on provision for the frequent and regular inspection and changing of their contents : and to bar all wall cases and all cases in which ventilation was not efficiently controlled.

§ 6. *Primary Duties of the Archivist :* (ii) *Moral Defence of Archives.*

(*a*) *Introductory.* We have already dwelt at some length upon the importance of custody and have even gone so far as to suggest that the Archivist might go out of his way to secure the custody of Archives with which he is not primarily concerned. We need do no more here than to draw the obvious inference that once Archives are in his keeping the Archivist must allow no access, or possibility of access, to them in any circumstances, except under the personal supervision of himself or his deputy ; supervision including his or his deputy's personal presence without intermission. It is equally clear that in no circumstances may any marking or alteration of a document (alteration including any change whatever in its relation to other documents) be made by any one save an Archive Official.

This decided, the moral dangers to Archives against which we have to guard are clearly to be apprehended chiefly from

[1] A room of this kind, access to which is governed by special regulations, exists in more than one national Archive Repository.

[2] Naturally all documents, or portions of documents, so segregated will be represented in the place where they ought naturally to be found by a dummy indicating the actual position to which they have been transferred.

the Archivist himself; and since we may presumably acquit him of any intention to tamper deliberately with his Archives the wrong-doing will be unintentional. Elsewhere [1] we have given a catholic series of examples of what an Archivist should not do. Here we may endeavour to set up for him some positive rules of conduct.

The most common fault is haste in dealing with Archives, due to anxiety to make them available for use: this, or any other form of negligence carrying with it a lack of understanding, may lead the Archivist to incorporate in his Archives something foreign to them, as we see the 'Pells and Auditors' arrangement forced on the Exchequer of Receipt; [2] or alternatively may result in something essential being cut out of them, as the pieces of mutilated *Receipt Rolls*, merely by being separated from each other, lost perhaps the last evidence for their identification. Separation for one reason or another of documents that have been preserved together is so common an error, and so fatal, that we may perhaps give one or two more examples; remarking by the way that as a general rule it is only some lucky chance, which has made it possible to put the error right, which reveals even the existence of these mistakes; the vast majority of documents so mishandled are from the very circumstances of the mishandling lost to view.

Our first example is furnished by a letter, printed by Bain in his *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland*. For the purposes of this publication Bain drew from some source now unknown a letter which he attributes to [George] Cely: [3] it has itself neither signature nor address. We might conjecture from the fact that he ascribed it so confidently to Cely that it was taken from the Cely Correspondence,[4] though without confirma-

[1] In Appendix V (i): an illustration of the Archivist's duties, drawn from the history of the Exchequer of Receipt, to which the student of this section may turn with advantage.

[2] Appendix V (i).

[3] Vol. iv, p. 415: the letter, formerly in *Chancery Miscellanea*, is now *Ancient Correspondence*, vol. 60, No. 89.

[4] A collection of private documents, largely of the fifteenth century, which became annexed in some way to the Archives of the Chancery and is now in the Public Record Office.

tion it is difficult to attribute to the papers of that family a letter addressed to some one not of the family (probably Sir John Weston) then in Naples ; with whose muniments it would naturally be expected to have remained. We can get so far as to justify the ascription to George Cely on an inference from a letter [1] of George's brother Richard which happens to have survived elsewhere. The truth as to its provenance, with any implications which might attach to that, remains, and will probably remain always, uncertain.

A parallel case to that of the *Cely* is furnished by the *Stonor Papers*,[2] a private collection of the same kind at the Public Record Office ; the varying character of which, though in reality they form a perfectly regular whole, has led to their being so scattered that they are found now in classes as widely apart as the *Ancient Correspondence*, *Chancery Miscellanea*, *Ancient Deeds*, and *Exchequer Accounts* ; with the result that there has been a very considerable difficulty in some cases in identification and ascription. Here the mischief is due not so much to over-anxiety to utilize for historical purposes as to adherence to a preconceived notion of classification from without. A precisely similar case (due perhaps to the ' methodizers ' of the State Paper Office) may be seen in two letters, one a testimonial from the Swedish Minister (now in *State Papers Foreign*, *Foreign Ministers*, vol. lxv), and the other a letter from a certain Dr. Layard in 1775 (now in *State Papers Domestic*, *George III*, vol. xi, no. 28) : only the chance of a pencil note reveals the fact that the first of these is an enclosure to the second—regarded externally (on their individual merits) they seem to be quite correctly placed. Examples from both private and public Archives might be multiplied.

(*b*) *Reception : Old Numeration and Lists : Order of Arrival.* We assume for the present that the Archivist is taking over formed Archives and has space in which to bestow them :

[1] *Ancient Correspondence*, vol. 53, No. 102 : printed by H. E. Malden in the Royal Historical Society's *Cely Papers*, p. 87. Mr. Malden has not unnaturally missed the letter printed by Bain. I am indebted for this reference to my former colleague Mr. Charles Johnson.

[2] Printed by C. L. Kingsford in the Historical Society's *Stonor Papers*.

questions which arise when this is not the case may be postponed for a later section. He has, then, no responsibilities before the moment of reception and every responsibility, that no genuine evidence be lost nor false one manufactured, that neither *suppressio veri* take place nor *suggestio falsi*, after that moment.

There are four chief possibilities. Either he is informed that the documents are arranged and is furnished with a List ; or he has reason to expect arrangement but has no list : in both these cases his first duty is obviously to check. Alternatively he has no information other than the appearance of the documents ; in which case his first duty is an investigation which will show either that they are or are not arranged, together with the checking, if arrangement does appear, of the numbers.

The question may be raised—what should the Archivist do in the case where he is taking over not from an active administrative body but from another Archivist who has already dealt with the documents ? If the Archivist has made up his mind (as had to be done in the case of the Exchequer of Receipt) that the whole arrangement of a class by his predecessor requires revision he will obviously be in exactly the same position as if the documents had come from an active administrative office : i. e. his responsibility will begin from the moment he takes over and the rules for his conduct will be the same as are laid down below. In the matter of subsequent arrangement some difference may be caused by the fact that documents have been arranged before, but that is a point for later treatment.

The most obvious rules, then, since the Archivist has in any case no first-hand knowledge of the documents, are that *no old lists may be destroyed* and that his preliminary checking and investigation *must not interfere with the order in which the documents are received or any old numeration.* This is not to say that if five clearly labelled volumes are delivered in the order 3, 5, 1, 4, 2, he may not set them in sequence on the floor. But apart from such clear cases nothing must be done to destroy the possible evidence offered by the order of their coming.

(*c*) *Accession Numbers.* The next thing to do is to safeguard

for the future any evidence which may be offered by this order of arrival. There are two possibilities.

(i) If the preliminary examination has shown that their former owners had numbered the documents and that they are complete, the order in which they arrived is clearly of no further importance : they may be put at once into the order of their old numbering.

(ii) If there is no old numbering, or if there is one but a quantity of the documents are missing, there is only one safe course—*to number the documents consecutively throughout with Accession Numbers.*

Before we go on to some Rules for this numbering and for stamping there are one or two connected points to mention. In the first place there are obviously certain common-sense cases lying between (i) and (ii) above : for example, if the Archivist has, say, a complete collection of volumes or papers numbered from 1 to 1,000, and one paper unnumbered, it would be absurd to upset the numbering of the thousand for the sake of the one ; let the single document, if it is apart, be numbered 1,001 with a note added to describe the circumstances under which it was found ; or if attached to another let it be treated in the manner provided below for enclosures and the like. The Archivist, in fact, must be left to decide, on the merits of individual cases, how many such strays would necessitate a re-numbering of the whole in the order of accession as ' unarranged documents '.

Then there is the case of regularly accruing Archives. For example, ' Chancery ' Archives from the High Court in England are transferred to the Public Record Office at regular intervals ; and probably most County Archivists find themselves in a similar position in respect of certain classes of their Archives. In such cases there is opportunity for liaison between the Archivist and Administrative Compiler of the Archives ; for the latter can make the task of the former much lighter by adopting his suggestions as to packing and numeration.

(*d*) *Original or Early Files, &c.* We may emphasize here a matter already treated in another connexion. The numbering

we are at present describing is undertaken with the sole object of safeguarding the evidence offered by the documents' position and mutual relations at the time they are taken over. But there is one point which it cannot cover. The Archivist, dealing with loose papers, may presently (as we have seen above) fasten them together or he may leave them loose : but whichever he does future generations will require a distinction between these papers and those which were found filed or fastened together; because the fact that not the Archivist but the original administration bracketed documents together in this way may be of extreme significance. It follows that there should be an absolute Rule that *no original filing or binding may be interfered with in any way.*[1] Of course, all Rules have exceptions. In the exceptional case where something (necessary repair, for example) makes the breaking up of a file or volume imperative, a dated and authenticated note giving full particulars of the destroyed arrangement should be attached to the documents before they are again fastened together, which should be done as soon as possible.[2]

(*e*) *Stamping and Numbering : Methods and Rules.* For numbering it will be wise to use an automatic numerating stamp : there are several patterns but one should be chosen which can be adjusted easily, when required, to stamp the same number several times over instead of continuing the automatic

[1] A particularly good example of the way in which by such interference evidence may be falsified is furnished by some late seventeenth-century *Colonial State Papers* which came to the nineteenth century in an undoubtedly contemporary arrangement and contemporary vellum bindings ; these last were the typical bindings of the period, the sewing being on pairs of vellum slips, the ends of which are drawn through the covers—the ancestors of the modern hollow-back binding. By merely cutting through the slips inside the boards a whole volume might be taken out of its cover and the ' methodizer ' then proceeded to cut it up and rearrange the contents. When these were sewn and glued up again ready for binding the natural tendency would be to put them back in the original cover, which was still quite good ; and we have as a result what appears to be an original binding with the papers in their original order ; which nothing but a second breaking up would show to be a modern rearrangement.

[2] See our remarks above in connexion with *Make-up*, *Repair* and *Binding* (§5 (*f*), (*k*) and (*l*)). It may be added that the necessity for keeping notes and specimens applies not only to original (contemporary) forms of make-up but to intermediate ones, resulting from the activities of earlier Archivists ; which, though they have not the importance of those of contemporary administration are often very significant.

1, 2, 3 . . . They are all metal stamps using a suitable ink. A coloured ink should be used or some other means of distinguishing this accession numeration from any other, previous or subsequent. It will be wise to undertake at the same time, if possible, the ordinary stamping with the name of the office. As has been already indicated [1] only metal stamps and permanent inks should be used. Where a collection has been taken over every document in which is already numbered it is obviously not necessary to number again : in spite of this it will be well, if possible, to make an invariable rule of this first numbering so that all documents may have an accession number distinguished in the same way (e. g. by colouring as suggested above) from every other numeration.

(*f*) *Stamping and Numbering : the Accessions Register.* The Accession Numbering has, it should be noted, nothing to do with the subject or character of the documents. It merely records the state in which they were received and should work into a summary *Register of Accessions.* The arrangement of this will vary with circumstances such as the size of the Collection : the Archivist may number all accessions in any year consecutively giving a superior number for the year ; or give a superior number to each collection received or each receptacle ; or adopt what plan he pleases so long as every document received has an accession number which is enough to distinguish it from any other received at any time and so long as the Accession Register shows that on a given *date*, such and such *numbers* were received from such and such a *source.* Probably Archivists would find it convenient to combine the Year Number referred to with the Office Stamp.

(*g*) *Stamping and Numbering : the Single Document ; the File or Volume ; the Enclosure, Schedule or Insertion.*[2] We have said that every document is to receive an Accession Number. It is usual, however, to make a distinction between the classes mentioned above : a volume, for example, is treated as a single document ; a file not always. It will be well to examine these classes.

[1] Above (p. 64), § 5 (*h*).

[2] Actual methods of numbering are described below.

The distinction sometimes attempted between documents written on a ready-made roll or volume and documents written singly and subsequently bound or sewn up need not detain us long. Many medieval English enrolments were made up long after writing, sometimes out of heterogeneous materials (as for instance the *Carte Antique* Rolls of the Chancery) ; [1] and even in the case of the later books (such as the *Registers of the Privy Council*) there is sometimes room for doubt : the same remark would apply to many *Cartularies*.

But there is a distinction between the book or roll containing, for example, a continuous series of accounts on the one hand and on the other a series of single documents made on separate pieces of parchment or paper ; and there is a distinction again between either of these and the file (the original file, made by the Office which compiled them) of separate but related documents. Moreover, whatever numbering treatment is extended to these, it does not generally touch our third class—enclosures, schedules, and insertions. The only question is how far should these distinctions affect our Accession Numeration ?

Now this Numeration has only one object—the perpetual preservation of a record of the state of the documents as they came to the Archivist ; and it must be obvious that the single

[1] The origin of these rolls is a matter of speculation and controversy. They are composed, sometimes, of membranes widely differing in date ; but at the same time go back undoubtedly (as enrolments) to a very early time. They were calendared by Sir Joseph Ayloffe in the eighteenth century. Membranes seem often to have been made up into rolls long after they were written, as in the case of the *Plea Rolls*. But indeed it is probable that all enrolments were subject to such treatment, at any rate at certain periods. In the case of *Cartularies*, *Bishops' Registers*, and the like, the procedure was common ; if only for the convenience of having more than one scribe at work copying at a time. The procedure of an age when ready-made books were more common has not been much investigated, but there is no doubt that here, too (in the seventeenth century for instance), examples of binding after writing occur. Professor Pollard has raised the point in connexion with the *Journals* of the House of Lords (Royal Hist. Soc. *Transactions*, 3rd Series, viii, pp. 17 *et seq.*). It is to be noted that in such a case the smallest details may be of value as evidence : for example the presence or absence of drying ' sand ' (liberally used by the seventeenth-century scribe at the back of the leaves, where they are sewn in binding) might seriously affect our opinion as to whether a book was bound before or after writing—a reflection which emphasizes the need for great care in repairing

documents on a file, the odd sheets inserted in a book,[1] the enclosures to a letter, even the pages of a bound volume are all subject in different degrees to misplacement or loss in just the same way as separate documents. It would seem then that they must all come into the scheme of numbering, but in such a way as to make clear their subordination to the file, volume or other single document to which, or in which, they are attached, inserted, or enclosed. This can best be done by the use of sub-numbers. Our Rules then will be :

that every single document has an individual number ;

that every volume or file has a single number and in addition sub-numbers for the leaves or membranes composing it ;

that every document attached or inserted *after the making of the file, &c.*, in which it is included,[2] has the same number as that which it follows, plus a sub-number or letter ; *provided its posthumous character is undoubted.*

It follows that in some cases a second sub-number will be necessary. Thus page 40 of a volume whose accession number is 11 may have a schedule attached to it : they will be numbered 11 : 40A and 11 : 40B respectively. The Archivist may, of course, substitute Arabic or Roman numerals or any other form he likes for the letter of the alphabet ; but there must be something.

It should be (but to judge by experience is not) unnecessary to point out that it is not enough to give a sub-number to one of two documents having the same superior number : thus, in the instance given, the two documents must not be

original files or volumes. Another point in connexion with early bindings is noted above (*d*).

[1] A good example of the possibilities of loose sheets inserted in books is furnished by Sir John Laughton's evidence as to inserted papers in Admiralty *Logs* (Royal Commission, *First Report*, iii. 180). Certain classes of Departmental Records in England (especially personal Registers in the War Office and the like) are very liable to have insertions of this kind, and unless they are treated as is here suggested it is never possible to say whether traces of a missing one are to be put down to administrative action in the past or to subsequent accident or theft.

[2] The object of this rule is to avoid the use of A and B so far as possible. Provided that it has every appearance of being contemporary work it will be found necessary in practice to treat the volume or file made up of single pieces (for example,

distinguished as 11 : 40 and 11 : 40 : A (or 11 : 40 : i.) (or 11 : 40*) ; because 40 by itself does not imply that there are any other forties.

It is to be noted that this sub-numbering applied to leaves or membranes may be very generally preserved unaltered to serve as a foliation, the most convenient form of reference for students. The insertion of sub-numbers should therefore be on the front only of leaves or membranes. The same foliation should be used for files or volumes subsequently made up out of individual documents. Original files or volumes will be distinguished by the insertion of a note (as suggested above) from those of later creation and will also be marked by the fact that the latter will have been re-foliated.

Until some such numbering work as the above has been undertaken, it is not, we must repeat,[1] safe for either the Archivist or the Public to be allowed to deal further with the documents. It will be objected that the process is too elaborate : this objection is founded on the fact that stamping is generally done without method [2] and without the best

letters received) as an ' original ' volume, &c., and to number its leaves or membranes accordingly ; insertions, to be numbered as such, in a volume, &c., of this kind will only be those which were clearly added to it after its original make up. Because, therefore, seven pages in an ' original ' volume of *State Papers* consist of one main letter and six others originally placed under the same cover, it is not to be supposed that these are all to have the same folio number. They are actually separate leaves of the original volume and should be numbered separately, from 1 to 7 accordingly. The same rule is to be observed in numbering the file or volume made up out of separate documents in modern times.

[1] An example of the necessity of calling the attention even of the professional Archivist to the importance of this point is furnished by the Official *Notes on . . . Arranging . . .* (already cited), published by the Library of Congress, the author of which remarks (p. 5) that ' where papers are received in a confused mass, having been pawed over and tossed about until all semblance of an order is lacking much of the preliminary and time-consuming work can be performed by less expert hands before the undivided attention of the Archivist is necessary ' : proposing apparently no precautions at all in such a case. Upon this passage it need only be remarked that there is no congeries of apparently disordered documents so chaotic that it may not prove to contain the remains of an important previous arrangement ; and that the task of preliminary examination (much more the sorting) of such a mass is one of the most difficult which the most skilled Archivist could undertake.

[2] For example, it is not generally recognized that three men working together in an organized fashion can do more stamping than three working separately or one working three times as long.

apparatus : both are well worth securing and a certain amount of extra time is well worth spending. Moreover, it is to be noted that this first numeration is not highly skilled work ; it does not necessitate reading, for example, in any case. A modification, however, might be introduced by which sub-numbering, the searching of volumes for loose leaves, and so forth, should be a second stage, to be entered on only when any particular Archive was required for the first time for research. But this is a compromise, which it is desirable to avoid if possible.

In any case, and at whatever stage it is done, the Accession Numbering serves only the one purpose and is permanent.

(*h*) *First Packing.* The documents having undergone their first checking, numbering, and stamping, it will probably be necessary to pack them away temporarily : and economy will sometimes demand that they should be in an order quite different from that of their first numeration ; or indeed of any other numeration which could be given to them. Saving always the rules as to keeping intact original files, &c.,[1] there is no reason why this demand should not be met ; but since numbers to be used for the production of the documents when required must necessarily follow their packing order, this cannot be done without the addition of a second numeration. This more or less temporary ' packing numeration ', however, can be quite a simple affair compared with the other, because fresh sub-numbers in the case of original volumes and files will not be necessary.

Methods of packing must of course depend upon circumstances and exact rules cannot be laid down. We have already suggested certain methods of packing deeds, rolls, loose papers &c. : [2] and the choice of these or of other methods must be left to the Archivist. Naturally his decision to spend much labour at this stage on (for example) filing loose papers will be influenced by the probability of such work remaining undisturbed when the documents undergo, later, their final

[1] See above division (*d*) of this section.

[2] Above, Part II, § 5 (*f*).

arrangement : but in any case it is to be noted that documents, though separately accessioned, if they are now combined in a larger unit, will no longer have an individual numeration but be sub-numbered.

The *Packing Numbers* should be distinguished carefully from the *Accession Numbers* (as we have already noted) by the use of some special device of colour, placing or material [1] : and a *Key List* should be drawn up, working both ways, to equate the two systems. Where the packing order does not differ from the order of accession the same numbers will occur in both systems ; but as we suggested before it is as well to add the fresh numeration even when the numbers are the same, since they are to be marked in a distinct manner.

The principles on which packed documents should be numbered may be made more clear by a concrete example ; which will be possible when we have dealt with *Arrangement and Classification* below. So far we have mentioned only group numbers and individual or sub-numbers ; but it is clear that, above these, we shall require in large Archives at least one more division ; if only for the sake of creating a numeration which will be easy to handle. Before, however, we come to *Arrangement* there are one or two other matters, subsidiary but of importance.

(*i*) *The Alteration of References.* It seems certain that, ultimately, packing must to some extent be parallel to arrangement and classification : so far as it can be done both safely and conveniently it is a good thing to pack in the same receptacle or near to each other documents which are related. But between the preliminary checking and numbering with which we have been dealing, and the final arrangement which will bring to light such relationship, there may often be a considerable lapse of time, and during this time some preliminary scheme of packing will probably have to be adopted ; during this time also it may be necessary to ' produce ' the document for

[1] See above § 6 (*e*). If accessioning is entirely done by means of numerator stamps we can get the desired distinction by using pencil writing for all subsequent internal numbering (foliation, &c.) and stick-on or tie-on labels (see above § 5 (*j*)) for external purposes.

research purposes. Two things result : first, that there will be an alteration of references (i. e. Packing Numbers) ; and, second, that the student who has made notes of documents will find that these notes no longer produce what he wants.

The question of changed references engaged a good deal of the attention of the late Royal Commission on Public Records in England,[1] many witnesses denouncing the practice of making alterations. There is, however, a distinction, which was not brought out in the Report, between changes which are a real and serious danger to the Archives and changes which are troublesome to the Historian or other student—two quite different matters. The first of these results—danger to the Archives—only occurs when the old reference is the sole indication of the former history of the document and is destroyed or obscured ; and under the rules here enunciated this danger is avoided, because the history of the document is preserved by the other number—the Accession Number, which is never done away with—not by the Packing Number, which relates to nothing but the document's place on the shelves. Under these circumstances the changing of references may be regarded as perfectly legitimate—up to a point ; that is to say until the final arrangements of the documents has been made in the manner detailed below. After this it should never occur ; before it, there is always the valid excuse that a student who sees documents before they are completely arranged is allowed to do so only under reservations. In any case the student's difficulties can be met by the construction of a Key List equating the old references and the new ; which should always be made. As an extra safeguard old written or stamped numbers should be struck through only (not obliterated or erased) and old labels preserved.

(*j*) *The Archivist's Notes.* We have had occasion to allude more than once to the usefulness, or in many cases necessity, of notes on a document, made by the Archivist. Such notes occur in all periods and frequently give most valuable information—a typical one by Agarde has already been quoted. They

[1] See its *First Report* (1912).

may be of general Archive interest, as for example one descriptive of the effect upon the *Common Pleas* Records of the floods which followed the Great Fire ;[1] but those which chiefly concern us are such as preserve record of a particular incident in the career of a particular document. The Archivist is rather liable to make such notes, if he does make them, without attention to any particular rules ; and one or two points are therefore worth mentioning. In the first place such notes should be made frequently ; i. e. whenever anything has occurred which might conceivably alter the character of the document ; for example, if it has been detached from another, if it sustained a tear which went through the writing and could not be entirely made good by repair, if it has been transcribed by a student and printed in full,[2] if an unexpected contemporary copy has turned up in some other collection, if it has been suddenly found to be incomplete, and so forth. Next, these notes have little value unless authenticated by date and signature (needless to say no one save the Archivist himself should make them) ; and they should be of a permanent character. Finally they should not, as a rule, be made on the document itself, but on a slip attached to it. In any case the greatest care must be taken that they run no risk of being mistaken at any time for part of the original document. Thus pencil marks of any kind on a modern document are most unsafe and should be forbidden ; if this is not done the value of genuine contemporary alterations or additions in pencil will be gravely compromised. This point was well illustrated by an example recently observed where the Archive consisted of a printed map of North America, dated 1763, with boundaries of the Indian territories *marked in ink and pencil.*[3] Obviously the smallest suspicion of a possibility of subsequent pencil markings on this would rob it of half its value. Modern departmental Archives in England (such as those of the War Office) are particularly

[1] In the contemporary Index to the *Notes of Fines* at the Record Office (vol. xxv, note immediately before Michaelmas 18 Charles II).

[2] See on this point again below, Part II, § 9.

[3] Among the Treasury Archives (T. 1/476).

liable to have pencilled notes upon them and afford many examples of the need for great care in this matter.[1]

(*k*) *Archive Arrangement: its Object.* We have now done our utmost to safeguard our Archives against the result of any mistake, and can proceed to develop them with a satisfactory feeling that if our line of proceeding is wrong the error should not at least be irreparable. Whether they are in good order, or in bad, or in none, we shall still require to arrange them: not yet, it is to be observed, to index them for the subject-matter they contain, but to marshal them in such a way that the Archive significance of every document—its own nature and its relation to its neighbours—is brought out as clearly as possible. In this way we give the fairest opportunity to the Archive of saying what it has to say and to the student of understanding and profiting.

(*l*) *Arrangement: Chief Principle.* If by our account of the Evolution and Transmission of Archives we have accomplished anything, we should have made it clear that *the only correct basis of Arrangement is exposition of the Administrative objects which the Archives originally served*; we need hardly stop therefore to say that such a basis cannot be found in the subject interests they may possess for modern students,[2] in chronology, or even in the form in which they are cast.

Provenance, that word being taken to mean the place from which Archives come, may detain us a little longer; but the case of the Treasury of Receipt (the Class *Exchequer T. R.* at the Public Record Office) should suffice to show that it forms no true basis for arrangement. What Archives the Treasury of the

[1] For example, a confidential report on operations in America will be found among the Colonial Office Records (C.O.5/96). A considerable part of the significance of this document is due to certain passages (concerning the number of scalps collected by the Indians, and so forth) being ringed round with pencil and marked '*omit*'.

[2] Muller, Feith, and Fruin dwell at some length (Sections 10, 15, 16, and 19) on this matter, instancing the harm done by the subject arrangement to which French and Belgian national Archives were at one time submitted: which we in England can parallel from the work of our own 'methodizers'. The principle here adopted, called by the French *le respect pour les fonds* and by the Germans *Provenienzprinzip*, was first laid down in France by the Ministerial Circular of 1841, for which de Wailly was responsible and to which we have already referred: it is now almost everywhere accepted.

Receipt contained in its four Treasuries (the contents of which were eventually deposited in the Chapter House from which they came to the Record Office) is indicated by Agarde's *Compendium*.[1] They comprised specimens of almost every kind of public document, including large quantities of Legal Records and (it will be remembered) a considerable number of Receipt and Issue Rolls. Certain archives which it is difficult to ascribe with certainty to any particular court are still classed as *Exchequer T. R.*, but the bulk have gone to rejoin other archives of the various courts to which they belong. Had they been classed according to the place from which they came the collection would have been almost as ridiculous and unmeaning as would the present Contents of the Public Record Office if, some centuries hence, the *Patent Rolls* of Chancery, the *Plea Rolls* of the Court of Common Pleas, the *Pipe Rolls* of the Exchequer, and the rest, were all confounded together in one collection labelled *Master of the Rolls Department.*

The place, then, from which Archives are received should be a matter recorded by their Accession Numbers and the Accession Register ; and may serve as a temporary class heading for the unidentified ; but is not to be used normally to supply their primary division. That is provided by the Administration which produced them.

(*m*) *Arrangement : Procedure.* This will fall clearly into two parts : the first, study of the Administrations concerned, their history and organization ; the second, division of the Archives into Classes, subdivision of these, and again subdivision. Touching the first of these, however, we may remark that the study of Administration, though partly achieved from external sources, can never be divorced entirely from the study of the Archives : one goes in this matter in a curious circular fashion ; for the Archives cannot be understood without a knowledge of the Administration which produced them, and

[1] Palgrave, *Antient Inventories*, vol. ii, already quoted. On the regular transmission of Archives to this Repository in early times (the thirteenth century), see *ibid.* i, pp. xxxviii, xlii, and lviii. It seems clear that Stapleton (*c.* 1320) took a considerable part in regularizing its position as a Record Office (*ibid.*, p. xvii), and it continued in active use up to the last year of George II (*ibid.*, p. xl).

the history and development of that Administration is often written in the Archives ; so that the process is simply that known as puzzling it out. [1]

With regard to the second part, the division of the Archives ; since what we wish to do in order to comprehend them is to put ourselves in the position of the men who compiled them, our object will clearly be to *establish or re-establish the original arrangement* ; even if, when we look at it, we think we could have done better ourselves.

(*n*) *Arrangement : Slip-making.* The making of a slip for every document is the first step in arrangement. Original volumes and files may be treated each on a single slip, but those which are the result of the work of an Archivist predecessor [2] whose arrangement is to be revised, will require very careful scrutiny before they can be treated in that way ; so careful that it will probably lose us little if any time to make slips of every individual document in them at the outset.

Each slip will show, when completed, in some arranged order,

the present reference (packing number) of the document ;
its date or covering date ;[3]
state of repair of the document ; and
sufficient description (but no more) to identify its contents, material and make-up and the number of its membranes or leaves.

To the above, coming all from an examination of the document itself, must be added

the Administrative division to which the document belongs.

[1] The history, for example, of the Medieval Exchequer of Receipt (see App. V (i) would best be made out, if it had to be done again, by starting in the middle when the procedure was fairly clear and working backwards and forwards, so far as the documents are concerned : its case furnishes also an average example of the amount of information which may be expected from outside sources ; but is, of course, complicated by an unusual amount of past confusion, destruction of references and old lists, and so forth.

[2] See above, Part II, § 1 (*i*).

[3] Muller, Feith, and Fruin (§§ 84 *et seqq.*) lay down rules for securing a standard usage with regard to this and other matters. We have not tried to make English conform to Continental methods for the reasons given above (Part I, § 7) ; but it is hardly necessary to say that the Archivist must have for himself and his office a uniform practice. See below (pp. 129, 130) some further remarks on this subject in another connexion.

This, according to the state in which the document came to hand, will be obtained either from external sources or again from examination ; it may be simply added in the form of some distinguishing number, letter, or mark, to the reference already on the slip. And here we may remark that it will be convenient, though not essential, to have on the slip the *Accession Number* of the document as well as its reference.

Finally, the slip will contain any available information as to the relation of the document to others. This, according to circumstances and the methods employed by the Archivist, may take the form of a number, a mark, a note, or a cross-reference.

(*o*) *Arrangement : the Vertical Divisions of Archives.* The distinction on the slip of the Archive Division to which each document belongs is the first stage in Arrangement, and our introduction to the most difficult part of that task. These Divisions are, so to speak, the vertical lines which split up the whole mass of Archives in a Repository. In the case of the Public Record Office they are represented by the various *Courts* (the Chancery, the Exchequer, and so forth) under which medieval Archives are grouped and the *Departments* (Admiralty, Home Office, and the like) which supersede or are added to these in modern times. The Archive Group thus established is what the French call a *Fonds*.[1] Here we meet with our first difficulty ; for the French definition limits the true, ' autonomous,' *fonds* somewhat rigidly by the nature of the Archives it contains ; and on the other hand we find our Exchequer, for example, dividing into a number of special departments—the Exchequer proper or Upper Exchequer, the Exchequer of Receipt, the Exchequer of Pleas, the Augmentation Office, the Office of First Fruits and Tenths, the Land Revenue Department, and the late and short-lived Controller General's Department; and the Upper Exchequer splits again quite early into the two departments of Preliminary and Final Audit—those of the King's

[1] The definition given by Muller, Feith, and Fruin (referred to again below) contains some of the points already made here in our definitions of Archives and Documents (above, Part I, § 2), and in the section on Archive Evolution (Part II, § 1).

Remembrancer and the Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer. Does the Upper Exchequer, then, imply one *fonds*, or two, or three? Similarly in the case of the Exchequer of Receipt [1] we see in turn single, triplicate and again double systems flourishing: are we to hold that the Treasurer (or his Deputy), the two Chamberlains, and later the Auditor each created a *fonds*? or are all four merely dependent functionaries of a single one? Clearly we shall have to offer some kind of definition of our *Archive Group*.

(*p*) *The 'Fonds' or Archive Group: Definition.* The *fonds* is the chief Archive Unit in the Continental system and the basis of all rules as to arrangement. The most important of all principles of Archive Management is named from it *le respect pour les fonds*. We shall not, therefore, be wasting our time if we devote a little of it to discussing the definition applied by the *Manuel* to this word and the way in which that definition affects us.

The Authors tell us [2] that a *fonds* is an organic whole and that any Administration, or one or more of its *fonctionnaires*, can create a *fonds d'archives* provided that these include *résolutions* or *procès-verbaux*; the inclusion of Archives of such a type making it *autonome*. Roughly speaking, we may take it that they would make the qualities of a *fonds d'archives* depend on its including those which, when the administration which created it was active, constituted the final authority for executive action. For our purposes we may do better perhaps to represent this quality in terms of Administration rather than terms of documents, the forms of which, as we shall see later, are not necessarily constant. *Fonds* we may render, for lack of a better translation, *Archive Group*, and define this as *the Archives resulting from the work of an Administration* [3] *which was an organic whole, complete in itself, capable of dealing independently, without any added or external authority, with every side of any business which could normally be presented to it.* This, it may

[1] App. V. (i).

[2] Muller, Feith, and Fruin, § 1, and following sections, and § 55.

[3] Notice that nothing need be said of the size of the Administration—whether it consisted of one man or twenty—nor of its origin—whether it was created by, e. g., a statute or merely grew out of circumstances: such facts not affecting our present purpose. This takes us back to our original very catholic definition of Archives in Part I of the present work.

be said, is to make the *Archive Group* a division much wider, much less strictly defined than the *Fonds*. But it is so in appearance only. To take a modern instance, it would obviously be absurd to deny to the Archives of many of the Departments of the English War Office,[1] as it was constituted during the War, the independent arrangement to which the undoubted executive independence of those departments entitles them ; just as (in a case we have already seen) we have been obliged to treat Departments of the Exchequer such as those of the *King's* and *Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer* as separate Archive Groups : they are, as it were, *fonds* within *fonds*. The Authors of the *Manuel* meet such cases by allowing to the Archives of *Commissions* the status of *fonds* under certain conditions, whereas we have here referred to all alike as Archive Groups—a very slight divergence. We may, in point of fact, find it advisable to give a separate name—such as *Division*—to those Groups which are divided off from a larger one ; but even if this is not done our difference from the Foreign Authorities amounts to no more than that our system gives a little more latitude in individual cases. It is a difference, in fact, of point of view, not of principle ; and the fundamental rule of arrangement, the *respect pour les fonds*, remains, of course, untouched—whatever else we do we must not break up the Archive Group.

(*q*) *Where one series of Archives is divided between two Archive Groups*. So far we have dealt with the results which follow when an Administration is split up and delegates its functions to 'Commissions ', the Archive Groups being multiplied in proportion. But sometimes we have the opposite case where a single function and a single series of Archives apparently belongs to more than one Archive Group. [2] Thus the Archives of the *First Fruits and Tenths Office*, as we have already seen,[3] were taken over with some existing functions by the Commissioners of Queen Anne's

[1] For other examples of such independent or quasi-independent departments see the Royal Commission (1910), *Second Report*, i, pp. 11–13, 50–53, and 87.

[2] This case is not considered separately by Muller, Feith, and Fruin ; it is, however, of considerable importance on occasion.

[3] See above, Part II, § 2 (*b*).

Bounty, who continued the series of Archives known as *Bishops' Certificates* : similarly the Records and Functions of the *Court of Common Pleas* and other legal Courts were taken over by the *Supreme Court of Judicature* [1] and, once again, some of the series of Records continued ; and the same thing occurred when the Controller General of the Exchequer took over the Exchequer of Receipt [2] in 1834. When in due time the Archivist takes over the documents in such cases, what should be done with series which begin under one Administration and end under another ? especially when each of these two Administrations formed an Archive Group of otherwise quite distinct series ? It seems quite clear that the Archivist's only plan in such a case if he wishes to avoid confusion is to class the Archives separately under the Administrations which actually created them, even though this means breaking up a single series between two Archive Groups. A proper system of cross-reference will leave no doubt as to what has occurred ; and if this were not done a much worse situation might arise in which the Archives of a single Administration were partly classed under its own name and partly under that of another.

A word of warning is needed in this connexion. The procedure here recommended applies to the case where the Archives of one Department have been taken over by another simply from the point of view of custody ; and to that case only. Where Archives compiled originally in one Administrative connexion become later involved in a fresh administrative action they naturally become Archives of this second Administration. Thus we saw that what started by being a cartulary of the Abbey of Chertsey has come down to us as an exhibit in a suit in the Court of Exchequer. Many private muniments, as we pointed out above,[3] become in some such way Public Archives and will naturally be classed accordingly : to take one more example,

[1] Above, p. 33. [2] See App. V (i) (*m*).

[3] See above, Part II, § 2 (*e*). It is necessary to emphasize this point because since the above passage was written it has become evident, from a paper read to the Royal Historical Society (October 1920) by Dr. Redlich, of the Viennese Archives, that in the stress of restitution and re-arrangement of Archives as a result of territorial redistribution following on War, the doctrine may be advanced that Archives belong in the place or office in which they originated. It needs only a few minutes' thought

the Records of the Wardrobe have mostly come down to us not as Archives of that Department but as vouchers to accounts in the Exchequer. An Archive belongs to the last Administration in which it played an active part.

(*r*) *Arrangement within the Archive Group : Accepted Theories and some Difficulties.* So far our statement of the problems of Archive arrangement has reached to the initial necessity of sorting out our whole collection—what in French would be called the *Dépôt d'Archives*—into Archive Groups or *Fonds*, and possibly Sub-Groups. We have now to deal with the problems of arrangement within these. Towards this object we have at present one contribution—the fact that our aim must be to get back to the original order designed for our Archives by their compilers, the *ordre primitif* ; which of course was based, generally speaking, upon the administrative divisions of the period. This being so, the first step is obviously to separate off series from documents which so far as can be seen have never formed part of a series—*pièces isolées*. Up to this point we are in complete agreement with the Authors of the *Manuel* ; we may go further with them in saying that if or when the contemporary organization of administration differs in any respect from that of the Archives, the Archive arrangement must have first consideration with us ; it is quite true that Administration may have had divisions and subdivisions into which archive organization did not follow it : in such circum-

to show the absurdity of such a suggestion. Under it documents made in one office and subsequently forwarded (as vouchers for example) to another would have to be returned to the first : nay, letters received must be sent back to the Archives of their sender. Local Archives may legitimately demand to have returned to them, if they have been taken away, the Archives of some purely local Administration ; but let them not be so foolish as to expect Central Archives to be dismembered in order that they may become possessors of a few documents merely because these have a local (topographical) interest or a partial local connexion.

The only doubtful cases arise when transfers *have not been made for genuine administrative reasons*. If a change of Government (whether violent or pacific) leads to a transfer of documents from one Government centre to another for *bona fide* administrative uses should they later be regarded as proper subjects for 'restoration' ? The answer is definitely ' No '. But if a Napoleon carries off as loot the Archives of a conquered territory should not more equable times bring about the return of these ? The answer is almost certainly ' Yes ' ; not only in this but also in less extreme cases of a similar kind. At the moment of writing (1937) a curious illustration is furnished by the proposal to restore to Scotland some documents taken from it by Edward I !

stances nothing is to be gained from a modern attempt to force the Archives into complete agreement with the administrative scheme ; since we only wish to put our Archives back into the state in which contemporary needs obliged them to be kept ; there might always be administrative activities which are not represented in documents.

After this point, however, we find ourselves, with great diffidence, raising certain difficulties in connexion with the accepted continental theory of arrangement. Thus the Authors of the *Manuel* insist strongly [1] upon the necessity for a scheme of arrangement under which all original Archive series go to form the skeleton of modern classification ; they are its *lignes principales* : and going further the Authors envisage a classification under which a single *ligne capitale* (a single series consisting normally of *Résolutions* but conceivably of other Archive types) forms the backbone of that frame which the Archivist, after the fashion of a palaeontologist reconstructing the skeleton of a prehistoric animal, is to build up. All other Archives will, of course, be subsidiary to these main series.

This arrangement, which may be expressed in English by a division of the Archive Group into the *Main Record* on the one hand and *subsidiary classes* on the other, is an excellent method which, when it will work, displays Archives to the greatest possible advantage. An admirable example of it might be taken from the Archives of the English Chancery.

Suppose, for example,[2] that in the fourteenth century an Abbey required a confirmation of certain charters. It sent up these muniments with a *petition* which was presented to the King or his secretary, who forwarded it with a *letter under the privy seal* to the Chancellor instructing him to view the charters and make out the confirmation. The Chancellor, after viewing the originals, made out a *draft* confirmation which was handed to the engrossing clerk, who made out the required *charter* and handed the draft to the Clerk of the Enrolments and the fair copy to the Clerk of the Hanaper. The first of these made

[1] Muller, Feith, and Fruin, §§ 20 *et seqq.*

[2] I was indebted to my late colleague, Mr. C. G. Crump for the suggestion of this example.

a copy on the *Charter Roll* and the second saw to the sealing of the charter and the payment of the necessary fine which he entered in his *Accounts*. So the Charter went away to the Muniment Room of the Abbey. The Chancery was left with a copy on the Charter Roll (its *main record*) and (1) a letter of privy seal on the file of warrants for the great seal ; (2) the petition of the Abbey which should be in the same place ; (3) a draft for the charter which should be found, if it survived, on one of the Miscellaneous Files : all these being *subsidiary* to the enrolment. The Hanaper Account went away to be a subsidiary record elsewhere (in the Exchequer).

Now it is true that we have seen in this instance the classification of original series as ' principal lines ' and one of them as the ' Main Record ', while the loose documents fall into rank as subsidiaries—we have seen this classification working admirably. We cannot, however, be satisfied that this, in the capacity of a model for Archive arrangement, will invariably give satisfaction. What of the case where no original series, or at any rate no Main Record, can be found in what is yet an important archive group ? To carry on the metaphor from Palaeontology employed by its Authors, the *Manuel* does not seem to provide for the case of the invertebrate.

Let us examine for a moment the method of Archive-making employed, for example, in many modern Public Offices in England.[1] Here the custom is at present to keep in a cover, known sometimes as a ' jacket ', all papers relating to a particular case, a particular piece of business, or a series of small cases of the same kind. This jacket then includes original letters received, copies of letters dispatched, memoranda of the official who dealt with the business at each successive stage, and even minutes of superior authority or information derived from other departments of the same office. Impossible to split those up into series [2] of letters, minutes, memoranda, &c., for the reference from one to another is generally by citation merely of

[1] At the time of writing (1920) this method had just been adopted in one Division of the Supreme Court (the King's Bench).

[2] Cp. Muller, Feith, and Fruin, § 29.

their numerical order in the 'jacket'; equally impossible to distinguish between the work of superior and inferior officials at different stages of the transaction because both will use the same minute sheet.

This case gives us our most concrete but by no means our only difficulty. Even where the Archives can (as is, indeed, generally the case among the more ancient Archive Collections) be divided up into *series* and *pièces isolées* we are met only too frequently by the difficulty which results from what Professor Tout has called the fluidity of medieval institutions. Archive series which we have classed in our minds as 'main' and 'subordinate' or 'draft' and 'final' change places with bewildering frequency and in the most casual manner: a series which in its early days contained everything there was to be said upon a certain branch of administration, when examined at a later stage proves to be the merest shell continued simply because it is no one's interest to stop it; a subsidiary series throws off (but at what point no one can say) another,[1] which in due time becomes of the most obviously 'main' character; documents which have been scattered casually and only intermittently preserved assume without warning the proportions of a carefully kept series.[2] In fine, any system of arrangement which depends upon the distinction between Archives which formed original series and those which did not caters only for evolved Archives, not for those in a state of evolution; and in this country, at any rate, the stages of evolution were spread in some cases over centuries. To make the system apply to Archives in their evolutionary stages would necessitate a review of our previous observations at frequent intervals in the light of fresh developments in the structure of the Archives in question; and a fresh start each time in the matter of classification.

Reconstruct from an examination of surviving Archive series the skeleton of the thirteenth-century Exchequer; you have no doubt a most accurate piece of work: put this forward

[1] For example, the *Exchequer of Pleas Plea Rolls*, which were almost certainly split off from the *Memoranda Rolls* of the Exchequer.

[2] For many examples of the gradual evolution of Archive classes see the earlier sections on Differentiation (above, Part II, § 1).

as representing the sixteenth or even the fifteenth-century Exchequer, and you will be merely misleading : yet the *Pipe Roll* series, the backbone of your thirteenth-century Exchequer, is still a flourishing Archive series in the later period.

The trouble here is not that the system of arrangement based on a distinction between original series and isolated documents goes too far, but that it does not go far enough. Its authors, we may suggest (since we are venturing on criticism), are quite right in saying that the system of arrangement should aim at reconstructing and displaying the primitive organism whose remains we are considering ; but is that a thing which their system is capable of doing ? in point of fact it cannot be relied upon in all cases to produce this result ; and if it does not it will leave the student as confused as ever.

(*s*) *Arrangement : another suggestion.* Since then our troubles are mainly due to the difficulty of dealing with Archives whose organization is still in a state of evolution, we may suggest that it would be better to give up any idea of arranging them upon a scheme which presupposes that this organization can be defined once and for all ; and go back to our study of the Evolution of Archives in order to find out how far we may lay down rules or principles for their detailed arrangement. And in the first place we may ask—is there anything in the modern fashion of making Archives which should exclude them from the operation of general rules as to Archive treatment ? After all modern Archives still consist—must still consist—of the same three varieties of documents as the older collections.

The answer is that such Archives should present no difficulty. It will be remembered that differentiation of separate classes from a bulky ' Miscellanea ' class took place for various reasons ; primitively (we suggested) because a number of documents were about the same size and shape ; but also because they dealt with the same business ; or again because they dealt with the same class of business and were therefore cast in the same form. The medieval administrators, extremely devoted to form, differentiated chiefly on the last of these three grounds, and have left us enormous series of documents all of the same kind—

Rolls of Letters Patent, Rolls of Charters, Rolls of Accounts, Rolls of Pleadings at Law, Registers of Muniments, Files of Inquisitions, Files of Warrants, and the rest. The post-Medieval period, following the tradition, though it had broken away from many of the forms, kept its Proceedings and the copies of its Out-Letters in Minute and Entry Books, but left a large part of its In-Letters (the State Papers) in a ' Miscellanea ' condition from which many of them were not drawn till they came into the hands of the ' Methodizers ' who arranged them under headings interesting to the later Historian. The Modern Administrator, helped by Typewriters and Transfer-papers which make the taking of copies easy, by the modern facilities of transit for minute papers, and by the invention of card-indexing which enables a working index to be kept continually up to date, has simply gone back to the old system of a common stock of *Miscellanea* differentiated out into numerous files on the basis of subjects—the subjects with which his office is dealing : he may or may not, by means of the references given to the files or jackets, differentiate them again into classes of business done corresponding roughly with the functional divisions of the office. But all that has happened in this apparent revolution in administrative methods is that the modern administrator or business man has gone back to the more primitive varieties of Archive making. We shall have more to say upon this point when we come to consider the question of the Archives of the future. For our present purpose we have only to note once more that any system of arrangement which we may devise cannot be satisfactory if it does not contain a place for these very simple Archives.

(*t*) *Arrangement : Class Headings.* In Appendix V (ii) we have worked out in the form of a Chart the Records of the process of Issue at the Exchequer of Receipt ; and have demonstrated without difficulty that the attempt to arrange them in accordance with the ' Main Record ' formula inevitably breaks down because of their fluid and changing character. It is in fact quite clear that we must resign any attempt, in the case of this portion of the Exchequer of Receipt (and the Depart-

ment as a whole merely presents an enlargement of the same problem), to make of any one series a main line to which all the rest might be regarded as subordinate. On the other hand we have here undoubtedly a large number of original series which must form the basis of any arrangement of the Archives. The difficulty is to see any way in which they can be combined so as to represent an orderly sequence, an organic whole. Placed on paper in any order under the heading ' Exchequer of Receipt—Liberate Rolls, Issue Rolls, and Original Writs ' they appear merely as a confusing succession of experiments. What is the best plan for arranging them and is it one which can be laid down in the form of a general principle governing the making of all Inventories of Archives ?

We may venture to claim that the Archive series we have chosen for illustration, complicated as they are, do appear in our chart as bearing some relation to each other and as playing intelligible parts in an intelligible whole. As we have said before, the use of the chart is not practicable on a large scale ; and it is possible that it may be more difficult, in any substitute we can devise for the graphic method, to bring out the way in which series appear, break off, reappear, run parallel, supersede others, and so forth. But the fact that they do find their places in a single whole remains. It may be difficult to fit them together as parts of an active organism (possibly, for one thing, because they represent only fragments of the original body), but they are here collected without any difficulty or incongruity under a single heading. That heading—*Issue*—is taken from one of the functions of the Administration which produced them : i. e. we have merely carried one step farther the policy of grouping archives on a system which follows that of the Administration of which they formed a part.[1]

Now it is quite true that we must not depend upon the divisions of an Administration according to its functions for the lines upon which we divide our Archives ; [2] in this sense, that

[1] Cp. M. Cuvelier's statement of the problem in his article ' Les Archives ' in the *Revue des Bibliothèques et des Archives en Belgique* (1903) : ' qu'il faut . . . donner dans l'inventaire une image exacte de l'organisme ou de l'institution dont on veut faire connaître les Archives.'

[2] See above, division (*r*) of this section.

we must not map out Administrative divisions and try to force our Archives into them. But if we admit that Administrative Functions have not always (as they certainly have not) series of Archives into which they refer, that is not to say that the converse is true. In point of fact Archive series must always refer into some Administrative Function, because without it they themselves would never have come into existence. A single Archive series may refer into a single function or into two or more, or it may refer sometimes into one and sometimes into another; but refer it must into one at least. If, then, upon an examination of our Archive resources we decide which functions of the original Administration had Archive representation, we may proceed to utilize these Functions as headings under which to arrange our series (repeating a series under more than one heading where necessary); and may feel quite sure that the arrangement is based upon the facts of archive history.

We have now arrived at an arrangement which may be summarized as follows. All the Archives in a *Dépôt* are divided up into *Fonds* or *Archive Groups*: within an Archive Group we may have *Divisions: Groups* or *Divisions* in turn are to be described under the *Functions of the Administration* which produced them (these Functions being used as *General Headings* for classes of documents): the *Classes* themselves consist of *Series of Archives* representing the original arrangement.

(*u*) *Old Series, New Series, and Miscellanea.* So far we have dealt only with the original series of Archives—the continuous collections of Rolls, of Registers, or of Files of documents of the same kind which, as we saw, it was the first duty of the Archivist to sort out of any collection he found it necessary to arrange. The completion of this, however, will leave him as a rule with a large quantity still of unplaced documents. From these he will naturally proceed to sort out any fragments of original series which the accidents of time or human ignorance may have broken up, but which he may be able to reconstruct from the evidence of their own nature, of other series, or of external facts such as the remains of an old numeration or the statements in a treatise: it need hardly be said that this must be done, if

the series so formed are to be assigned the value of original ones, with extreme caution. This done, and finding that he has still a considerable number of ' unplaced ', the Archivist may, if the quantity of documents of an obviously similar [1] nature warrants it, and if there is nothing (such as the survival of an original file [2] of a more ' miscellaneous ' character) to show that the original compilers of the Archives deliberately kept to a less sophisticated arrangement—under such conditions the Archivist may further go on to make up from them such files or volumes as the original compilers might reasonably be expected to have made, i. e. files such that he will be able to place them beside the existing original ones in the arrangement already described.

But when all this has been done our Archivist will almost certainly find that even so he is still left with a quantity of unplaceables, the ultimate part of the *Ancient Miscellanea* of which we have spoken in an earlier section. With regard to the treatment of these genuine isolated documents many rules might be laid down.[3] For one thing they must be described separately, piece by piece ; clearly a whole collection of them cannot be left with no better treatment than the description of ' Miscellaneous ' or ' Various ' : so that we get the apparent anomaly that the (more important) original and regular files or series claim less space and attention in an Inventory than these ' miscellaneous ' ones. Again, the Archivist should always remember that the fact which governs both the dating and the position of a document among Archives is the fact of its arrival at its final destination : for example, the private account absorbed as a voucher into *Exchequer Accounts* belongs to the year of audit at the latter so far as Archives are concerned, though it may have a much earlier date upon it ; similarly an original letter belongs to the Archives of the person or depart-

[1] Normally, documents of a dissimilar form (copies and originals, for example) would not get on to the same file, and though special cases may occur in original files the Archivist making up an artificial file should not copy this usage : cf. Muller, Feith, and Fruin, § 29.

[2] On the subject of the breaking up of original files see above (p. 87) division (*d*) of this section.

[3] Cf. Muller, Feith, and Fruin, §§ 26 to 28.

ment by whom it was received,[1] or if it passed through several hands, the last person to whom it passed.[2] The observation of such elementary rules as these is of course obligatory ; but outside them it is better not to bind the Archivist to the employment of any one system in his arrangement of purely miscellaneous *pièces isolées*. So long as he destroys no Archive evidence he can do no harm, even if he is wrong, in arranging them upon the system—alphabetical, chronological, formal, or what not—which seems to him best adapted to the needs of the case. And, if we may venture to recapitulate, provided he observes the two simple rules already propounded—accession numbering and the rule that no original file, fastening, or binding is broken up—any re-arrangement he may effect is in the nature of an experimental one only and cannot be dangerous.

(*v*) *The case of Archives misplaced or never arranged.* The Archivist may, upon the most careful consideration, conclude that a document or a series of documents, found perhaps in definite physical connexion with a certain Archive group, belongs to another : for example, a Minute Book of the ' Society for Constitutional Information ' (a revolutionary Society of the late eighteenth century, whose papers were impounded by the Treasury for the purpose of certain Treason Trials)[3] made its first public appearance as *African Company* No. 1357 ; clearly through an accident due to the fact that this Company's Muniments also passed into the possession of the Treasury.[4] Again the Archivist may decide that a whole section of an Archive Group, or possibly all its archives, represent a complete absence of any arrangement by the original compilers, other perhaps than filing in a rough chronological order. Both these cases raise the same question—is the Archivist ever justified in breaking up Original Files or a well-established original order,[5]

[1] Cf. the example of a letter written by a member of the Cely family, quoted above, p. 84 : see also our definition of Archives and the case of Cartularies and other Archives quoted above, § 2 (*e*).

[2] Cf. the case of the petition of an Abbey instanced above, p. 105.

[3] The remainder of the Society's Archives are in the Treasury Solicitor's Papers. The trial for which they were used was probably that of Horne Tooke in 1794.

[4] When the Company was abolished by statute in 1820.

[5] Cf. Muller, Feith, and Fruin, § 19. The suggestion of breaking up (even

even when he is convinced that it is the result either of accident or of lack of design in the time of the original compilers ? and could he carry such procedure so far as to transfer Archives from one Archive group to another ? If we reply ' Yes ' we are clearly compromising : though the Authors of the *Manuel* seem disposed to do so it cannot be denied that the procedure goes against their, and our, expressed plan of preserving, even of reconstructing, the conditions in which the original compilers of the Archives thought fit to leave their documents. The writer's personal feeling is in favour of refusing to do more than to re-arrange on paper ; leaving the physical arrangement, where there is definite arrangement, such as a contemporary filing string, in the state in which we find it. At the same time there might conceivably be circumstances which made this supremely inconvenient ; for example, a really large mass of miscellaneous documents bearing no trace of arrangement other than a hasty filing or binding in no particular order, by their original compilers. Cases may be imagined in which the most conscientious Archivist would conclude that the policy of compromise was best. We shall perhaps do well to make no definite rule against such procedure, but merely to say that the Archivist who adopts it is taking a very grave responsibility. Exceptions may prove Rules, but he is a bold man who will set out to prove his most important Rules in that way.

Nothing we have said here, of course, is to be taken as preventing an Archivist from altering, after suitable deliberation and with the precautions already described,[1] the arrangements undoubtedly due to an Archivist, his predecessor. What is to be guarded against is the alteration of anything done by the original administrator, the person or body who compiled the Archives : because what they did is a part of the Archive itself.

(*w*) *The Making of the Inventory.* We have been assuming all this time that the written and printed result of our arrange-

exceptionally) original files is of course in contravention of our previously expressed rule : see above (pp. 87, 113) divisions (*d*) and (*u*) of this section.

[1] The precautions are those touching the preservation of old references and old lists and the addition of notes by the Archivist.

ment is to be an Inventory ; by which we mean a summary but complete exposition on paper of the arrangement we have given to our Archives. The Archivist dealing with a very small quantity of documents might find it possible to proceed at once to detailed Listing or Calendaring and dispense with the Inventory : but in Repositories of any size, and especially those which have frequent fresh accruals, part at least of the detailed work must often be postponed for many years ; and in these circumstances the Inventory is an essential.[1]

(*x*) *Final Packing and Numeration.* The interests in which Archives are consulted and consequently the order in which they may be demanded varies almost infinitely ; but as they can only be packed and referred to in one order we shall naturally make this conform to the order of our Inventory, which is the Archive order. Series will generally run in something like uniform shapes and sizes, and therefore they will, on the whole, best suit the convenience of those responsible for the actual packing on the shelves. Where an exceedingly square class follows after an eminently round one such modifications as are necessary must be made when the documents reach the repository itself by means of cross references from one press to another, or any other convenient method.

It may strike the Archivist as inconvenient that the classes within the Inventory are not arranged in such a way as to make it easy to pick out a single one at will. In that case the Inventory when made should be furnished with an Alphabetical Index of classes.

So far we have divided up the mass of Archives with which we may be supposed to be dealing into :

(i) *Archive Groups* labelled with the name of the Administrative Department which produced them : say, for example, EXCHEQUER. We may have further :

(ii) *divisions* of these representing independent administrative organizations separated off from (i) : these are labelled in the like manner ; for example, EXCHEQUER OF RECEIPT.

[1] The doctrine of ' Transcriptions partielles mais inventaires complets ' was first laid down by Moreau in 1774.

We have then sorted out within each *Group*, or *Division*, the *original series* and the *unclassified documents* ; and extracted from the latter what we may call *made series*, which we set beside the *original* ones. Finally we have arranged in the most suitable way we can devise the still unclassified documents. We now proceed to review the make-up of documents other than files or volumes ; re-packing where necessary the small or loose documents which are to be brought together under sub-numbers in larger units.

All our series we propose to range under *Headings* representing the Administrative functions which produced them ; for example (taking again the Exchequer of Receipt in illustration) ISSUE : within these they will fall into

(iii) *Classes*, each composed of one of our original or newly-made series—for example, ISSUE ROLLS—or possibly (where they are very small) of a succession of several series. One Class at least will be assigned to the Unclassified or Miscellaneous. After this we have one more numbering for

(iv) *individual documents* within the classes. These, if they form parts of a larger unit, will have sub-numbers, or a page of membrane numeration, or possibly they may require both.

We have now to consider the best short *reference* (presumably numerical, or mainly so) which we can devise to represent these—the document's address, as it were. The Archivist has to balance between the inconveniencies of running numbers which mount up to enormous figures and the liability to confusion attendant on meticulous sub-division ; though the latter has the advantage that it facilitates the insertion of subsequent discoveries.

By way of suggestion we put forward the following plan.

For (i), the *Group*, use a name, an abbreviated name, or a letter : thus at the Record Office the Exchequer is *E.*

For (ii), the *Division*, (when necessary) use the first figure of a three- or four-figure number :

thus the *King's Remembrancer's Division* of the Exchequer has the numbers from 101 onwards ; the *Receipt* those from 401 : and so forth.

For (iii), the *Class*, use the remaining figures of the three- or four-figure number already mentioned : thus the class of *K.R., Accounts*, is referred to by the number 101, that of *K.R., Subsidies*, is 179, and so on.

For (iv), the *individual document*, use another number or number and sub-number.

The reference to a document in the *Exchequer, K.R., Accounts* class will thus consist of *Group/Division* and *Class/Number/Sub-number* and be written shortly in the form E./101/22/11. 22 being the box-number and 11 the sub-number of the document. A membrane or folio number following the above should be preceded by the letter *m.* or *f.*

On a label the ' *Group* ', ' *Class* ' and ' *Document* ' parts of the reference may best be placed vertically, in three lines, thus

E.
101.
22/11

Whether or no he adopts the above plan the Archivist is earnestly advised *to choose one system and keep to it.*

So far we have been dealing with the slips. *Once the new references have been added to these* the Archivist may proceed to re-arrange his documents in their new order, give to them also their new (and final) references, and re-pack them.

(*y*) *The Making of the Inventory : continued.* To return to the making of the Inventory. We have dealt with the classes that are to figure in it and with the method of numeration to be employed, but have omitted so far the question of the order in which the classes are to come—an important matter if the arrangement is, as we desired, to act as an exposition of the character and meaning of the whole Archive Group. This may be settled by an introductory note which it is advisable [1] to prefix to the Inventory in which the evolution of the Archives forming the Group in question is set out, together with the

[1] Cf. Muller, Feith, and Fruin, § 61. The History of the Exchequer of Receipt given in App. V (i) is rather an elaborate example.

history of the Administration which produced them : the order in which the various Archive classes appear in this account will naturally be followed [1] in arranging the order of the classes in the body of the Inventory. Naturally also the Miscellaneous or Unclassified will come only after all the ' Series ' have been dealt with.

For the purposes of an Inventory, where the entry of a series takes up only a few lines of writing or type, there can be no objection to *entering a series twice over* (with a cross reference in each case) ; and it will be highly desirable where a single series refers into two or more functions to insert it in its place under each heading. Makers of Inventories and Indexes are in general too much afraid of this double entry, a most valuable device provided it is adequately distinguished by means of cross references and reserved for special cases—not used where a cross reference by itself would be sufficient.

The filling up of *gaps* in the Group as it appears in the Inventory demands a few words. To take an example : owing to some accident of custody in the past a certain number of volumes from a series of Treasury Archives[2] at the Public Record Office were formerly in the collection of the Duke of Leeds. It is obviously good sense in such a case to indicate in the Inventory the source from which gaps of this kind may be filled. Similarly where Archives have in the past got into the wrong Group it will be well in inventorying the Group to which they properly belong to include them, calling attention to their present position by means of a cross reference.[3]

As to the description of the various classes or series in the Group we may adopt the ruling of the *Manuel* : [4] it should be the object of the Inventory to give a general idea of the series, not of the pieces contained in it. At the same time a loophole should be left for exceptional cases : where, for example, the

[1] This again departs a little from the *Manuel* which recommends an order based on the Documentary form of the Archives : an inconvenient method, if only for the reason that forms may change while Functions remain.

[2] e. g. T. 52, Nos. 3 to 6. They have now been restored to Public Custody.

[3] Always supposing that the Archivist does not decide to take the risk of transferring them. See above, p. 113.

[4] § 37.

contents of a single volume forming part of a regular series are abnormal (i. e. not of a nature covered by the Introductory Note) the facts should be recorded in the Inventory, which would break off its general description of the series for the purpose. As to the *matter of the Descriptions*,[1] obviously certain items of information must invariably be included. Such are the number of pieces in the series thus summarily described ; the gaps in any series, and its covering dates ; [2] and all ancient names and references for the series or for items in it ; and the covering reference numbers. Touching these (especially the dates) we may remark that the Authors of the *Manuel* in their later sections have endeavoured to secure a standardized phraseology of description. In the present work we have not attached so much importance to this, indeed we have indicated above [3] that in some respects it seems to us very difficult to secure—at any rate on an international basis. On the other hand we shall suggest below [4] that some homogeneity in methods of listing and calendaring is not unattainable *within the limits of English Archives* and shall cite certain efforts which have been, or are being made, to secure this. It is not improbable that in the next few years considerable progress may be made in this direction and it is obviously desirable that English or English-speaking Archivists should all use the same method and terminology when describing common features in Archives —form, style of make-up, state of repair, number and description of the component parts (leaves, sheets, membranes, etc.) seals and even handwriting.

[1] Cf. Muller, Feith, and Fruin, §§ 35 to 55.

[2] There is one point with regard to dating—see above, paragraph (*q*)—which is not a matter of opinion but a rule. As it is of extreme importance we will venture to repeat it here. *The date of any given document for the purposes of an inventory of the Archive Group is the date at which it came into that Group ; not the date of its writing, which may have been years or centuries earlier.* When an inventory is being made this (the earlier) date should be the subject of a footnote or special description. Thus a bundle of private vouchers may properly be *described* as covering the first ten years of Edward III's reign, during which they were made ; while they are *dated* and *placed* in the Inventory in the eleventh, the year in which they were used for Audit, and so became Public Records.

[3] Part 1 § 7. [4] See below (p. 129) § 8 (*f*) : see also above p. 18.

The work we have been describing constitutes one of the Archivist's most important tasks. In it he renders an account of his stewardship. We may add that if any detailed information as to the Archive classes is to be printed the Inventory would appear to have the first and best claim to such treatment.

(*z*) *Deposited Collections and Transcripts.* So far we have numbered and arranged our Archives and produced an Introduction and Inventory to one or all of the Archive Groups which compose the whole collection. There are, however, two types of Archive to which we have not referred.

The first of these, perhaps, we are hardly entitled to distinguish from our normal collections, considering the opening we have endeavoured to make [1] for the reception by the Archivist (for their own safety and custody's sake) of Archives (perhaps of a purely private character) with which he has officially nothing to do. The Archivist's duty to them may run upon exactly the same lines as that he owes to the 'Group' taken over by him in the regular course of business: i. e. he must regard his responsibility as starting from the moment he takes over custody and must treat the collection thus deposited exactly as if it were an ordinary Archive Group: with this exception, that in stamping them he should use some method which will distinguish them without any question from others whose custody has had a genuinely official character.

We may take this opportunity to mention a question which arises occasionally [2] when *documents are restored* to their proper place from some outside source. These should be marked with a note, or a special and easily distinguishable stamp, indicating that they have been *sometime out of official custody.*

Collections of Transcripts [3] from Archives elsewhere may

[1] Above, Part II, § 3. Note that the Pershore Cartulary now in the Archives of the Augmentation Office (above Part II, § 2 (*e*)) belongs properly to this class; or would have done, if the class had been in existence when it was added to that Repository.

[2] Cp. the case of the restored Treasury Records cited above.

[3] The Public Record Office, for example, possesses a considerable collection derived from foreign Archives of all kinds and made at various dates from the times

sometimes be, from the Historian's and other students' point of view, very desirable inmates of an Archive Repository. If they are there the best way to treat them is to consider them Archives of the Repository itself, dating from the time of their arrival there, and to give them custody accordingly : this will give them as time goes on a certain limited Archive value. They must not, of course, on any account be incorporated to any (even the smallest) extent in Original Groups in which they might fill gaps, and it is even doubtful whether they should be referred to in the Inventories of these ; which in point of fact can equally easily refer to the originals from which the Transcripts are made. Perhaps if this last is done footnotes may refer the student for his convenience to the copies existing in the Office.

(*aa*) *Repository Lists.* We may now come to the question of the remaining needs of the Archives themselves in the matter of means of Reference, as opposed to the needs of students with whose requirements we are to deal in the next section. The first need, in the case of any large and composite Repository will clearly be a *Summary Inventory* of its contents. The order in which the various Archive Groups figure in this way may be any that the Archivist finds convenient—an Alphabetical one suggests itself. The order of the classes within the Groups will naturally be the same as that used in the several *Inventories* ; because here it will be generally desired to look up a document by its Reference Number. The information which the *Summary Inventory* will be desired to give will be—

the classes (it will not, of course, go into further detail) in each Archive Group ;
the number of ' pieces ' (i. e. primary numbers—not sub-numbers) in each of these ;
the dates covered by each class ;
the class reference number ;
the place in the Repository occupied by each class.

of the early nineteenth century Record Commission onwards ; similarly the Canadian Archives are being enriched with large quantities of transcripts from the Public Record Office, doubtless of great importance for historical purposes.

If a copy of the *Summary Inventory* is made available to any other than members of the Staff of the Repository the last mentioned item should be suppressed in it.

Next, every Room or other Department into which the Repository is divided will need a *Shelf List*, shewing the classes which are to be found there and the section of shelving which each occupies. This will be kept on the spot for the convenience of the staff engaged in producing documents : but copies of all Shelf Lists combined in a single volume will be a convenient work of reference for the Archivist himself.

Thirdly, there will be necessary a *Class List* for every class giving the information which is left out of the Inventory, i. e. the detailed numbering and date of every document or collection of documents in a series as well as of the separate documents in the *Miscellaneous* class. This *List*, an essential for the purposes of production, will be required by the Student as well as the Archivist.

(*bb*) *Catalogue of Indexes, etc.* Transcripts, Calendars, Descriptive Lists and Indexes are to be treated in our next section : but from one point of view they may properly be mentioned here. In many large Repositories, especially those which contain post-medieval documents, there will be found a quantity of such compilations (notably of Indexes) *which are themselves Archives*,[1] the work of the same hands that compiled the series to which they refer. It will generally be found convenient to keep a separate list [2] of these, drawn from all the Archive Groups in the Repository ; and if to this be added a note of all the modern ones (i. e. of those which are *not* of Archive character), whether manuscript or printed, the result will be a valuable Catalogue of all Official means of reference to Archives in the Repository, arranged in an order corresponding with that of the *Summary Inventory*.

[1] There are large quantities of these in some of the modern Departmental Archives at the Public Record Office (e. g. those of the Admiralty and the War Office) ; but perhaps the greatest number come in the form of such works as *Cause Books* from the Courts of Law.

[2] At the Public Record Office the ' Archive Character ' Indexes are withdrawn from their classes, given an extra numbering, and kept all together in an easily accessible place : they amount at present to about 20,000.

(*cc*) *Conclusion.* We may emphasize the fact that we have tried so far only to indicate essentials for the efficient and safe running of a Repository. The precise way in which the Archivist secures these must to some extent vary with circumstances : in a small Repository, for instance, he may find it possible to cover in a single operation what have here been described as two or more stages in the work, or to make a single list serve a double purpose. Such variation is of no moment provided none of the necessities we have enumerated are omitted.

§ 7. *The Archivist, the Administrator, and the Historian*

We shall have occasion in the next part to point out the very distinct positions occupied in the matter of Archives, by the Archivist and the Administrator who compiles Archives ; but the difference is even more strongly marked between the Archivist and the Historian. We have already given some hint of this in our opening sections, but must now emphasize it : the Archivist is not and ought not to be an Historian. He will need of course, some knowledge of History and may be interested in it personally, just as he may be interested in Metallurgy or any other science : but his duty is to his Archives, independently of any of the Research subjects (of which at present History is the most prominent) which make use of Archives for their own ends ; and therefore an interest in any of these subjects, since it might give him a prepossession in favour not only of a subject but also perhaps of a school of opinion within that subject, might be more than inconvenient or inappropriate, it might be positively dangerous. Most of the bad, sometimes damaging, work which has been done upon Archives in the past, from the ' methodizing ' of them down to the publishing of expensive calendars conforming so closely to the desires of one generation of students that they were quite useless for the purposes of the next—most of the bad and dangerous work done in the past may be traced to external enthusiasms resulting in *a failure on the part of the*

Archivist to treat Archives as a separate subject. In relation to his charges the Archivist should be a modern only so far as strictly modern questions of buildings, custody, and the like are concerned : for the rest he should be all things to all Archives, his interests identified with theirs, his period and point of view theirs. This may be a personal disadvantage to him ; but it is a duty inherent in the career of an Archivist and should be faced.

The Archivist, then, is the servant of his Archives first and afterwards of the student Public. It follows that when, but not before, he has done all that is necessary by his Archives his duty is to devote himself to publication in the interests of Research workers. It may be maintained with some force in many cases that his first duty, adequately carried out, would leave him no leisure for his second ; but in any case (and we will assume here that he is to have some leisure to devote to the special requirements of the student, and in particular of the Historian) there is a clearly marked distinction between his two duties and positions. In the first he himself must be the judge of what is required and should allow no external interference in the matter of arrangement, for example, and of the resulting lists which we have been discussing : up to this point the Archivist has been within his own province, and should have no occasion, save exceptionally, to consult any outside authority. But in his second position and capacity (if he is able to take it up) he is no longer the expert on his own ground but simply the servant of the Public ; and the Public, which pays, is entitled to indicate what shall be done ; though it is incidental to the Archivist's necessary qualities that he will probably be able to offer a sound opinion if called upon. The late Royal Commission commented with an appearance of some surprise [1] upon the arrangement by which, in certain countries, matters relating to the publication of Archives are in the hands of an unofficial Committee of Historical and other experts. But this is perfectly logical and quite right. Though, as we said, knowledge incidentally acquired may enable the Archivist to give valuable help

[1] *First Report*, ii, p. 139 : ' in the Netherlands Archivists are regarded as being chiefly occupied with the custody and arrangement of Archives . . . ' : cf. *ibid.*, p. 129.

to such a Committee, it is not for him to decide what publications the Public requires or what are most needed for the advance of Historical or some other form of Research.

§ 8. *Secondary Duties of the Archivist*

We will suppose, then, that the completion, temporarily, of all essential Archive work leaves the Archivist free to produce work to meet the special requirements of students.

(*a*) *The Guide.* The first requirement may probably be held to be a General Guide to the contents of the Repository. This will be a small matter if the system of arrangement advocated above has been followed, for it will consist roughly speaking of a combination of all the Introductions and Notes from all the Inventories, condensed as far as possible, *plus* a modicum of information from the body of the Inventory as to dates and (in some cases) quantities.

(*b*) *Various Means of Reference to Archives.* Since the first edition of this book appeared there have been published [1] two Reports by Anglo-American Committees on the subject of Editing ; to which all Archivists and others interested in the question should refer for detailed guidance. The Committees put forward *recommendations* for a systematic treatment of the various problems connected with Editing and *rules* for Transcription. Since obviously the publication of full transcripts would be the ideal way of treating most documents for the benefit of Students who cannot have personal access to them the Committees' *Rules* for this were the starting point for everything they had to say ; and their Rules followed closely the older set of Rules which were re-printed as an Appendix to the first edition of this book. I have therefore, in my present edition, omitted the Appendix and propose to confine myself here to some comment upon the larger questions raised by the Reports, with special reference to the point of view of the Archivist and to certain investigations which are in progress at the time of writing.

[1] In Numbers 1 and 7 of the *Bulletin* of the Institute of Historical Research.

As a preliminary we may observe that the Reports bring out the special importance of four matters.

(i) The distinction between *Transcribing* and *Editing*: which is drawn by the first of the two Reports. Transcription can be made the subject of *Rules*—it is possible to aim at complete homogeneity. Editing is bound to be affected by the individuality of the editor; who must take responsibility in each case for what he decides to omit or include: here we can only hope, at certain points, to secure homogeneity of principle.

(ii) *The importance of Nomenclature.* A standard terminology is suggested for the description of forms of make-up ('Roll', 'File', 'Roll of . . . Membranes filed', 'Book'[1] or 'Volume') and of the various parts ('pieces', 'membranes', 'leaves' or 'folios', 'sheets', 'gatherings', 'quires') for documents of different kinds; also for the description of seals[2] and of the methods of attaching them.

(iii) The *List*, *Descriptive Catalogue*, *Calendar* and *Full Transcript*; also the *Introduction* and *Index*: the Reports give an exact meaning to these and define the functions of each. Here I must venture to suggest a modification: in the present work the word *List* has been used (as it generally is in practice) to signify something which offers the barest minimum of information about each document—no more than its identification: the Committees, which were not concerned with so jejune a compilation, used the word to signify something fuller. We may meet the difficulty by using *List* in our own sense and combining the Committees' *List* and *Descriptive Catalogue* under the single title of *Descriptive List*.

[1] The accurate description of different types of books awaits the writing of a History of Binding which shall be more than a history of external decoration: but a distinction might even now be drawn between 'Bindings' (where the *boards* are first attached to the *sewing-bands* and the *cover* then drawn on over all) and 'Casings' (where cover and boards are put together separately and then attached to the sewn volume). See also above § 5 (*l*).

[2] On this subject see also my article in *British Archaeological Journal*, already cited: the Committee's proposals need a little extension in order to make them cover (in particular) some of the later methods of sealing: where (for example) *papering* is used with a *pendent* seal.

(iv) *Comparative Use of the above Methods.* The second Committee's Report discusses the regrettable necessity for adopting sometimes shorter methods in lieu of full Transcription, particularly in view of the vast accumulations of modern Archives : and suggests that Editors might often use all methods in combination in dealing with a single body of documents ; listing the unimportant ones, giving some description of others, calendaring the bulk of those which were really important for their purposes, and transcribing the most valuable of all in full.

This recommendation rests upon the fact that a set of Archives, which has once been dealt with in print, is not likely to find a second editor : and that it is therefore incumbent on everyone who undertakes the editorial task to cater not only for his own interests and those of his fellow-workers in any given field but also for those of every class of student who might conceivably desire to have recourse to the documents in question.

(*c*) *The Archivist and the Editor.* Before adding some comments on the various methods of dealing with documents named above, we may make two general remarks. First, though the Committees' rules and recommendations were drawn up for the guidance of those intending to print and publish they are equally applicable in cases where printing and publication are not contemplated. The fact that Lists, etc., are not to be printed should not be made the excuse for a lower standard of accuracy or completeness : nor are any of the methods to be used different : even an Index may be compiled on the same principles whether it refers to the pages of a printed book or to the folios or reference numbers of unprinted documents.

In the second place, the Committees undoubtedly had in mind very much the needs of those Students who do not normally intend, or are not able, to visit Archives personally. Now the Archivist, from the nature of his position, is much in contact with the other class of Students—the Students who prefer, and are able, to do their own work on the original

documents and require aids to that rather than substitutes for it : and as he is bound to have an eye on the needs of his Students' Room he will probably find himself impelled in many instances to work at the production rather of Descriptive Lists and Indexes than of Full Transcripts or Calendars. He may frequently be able to contemplate a typescript edition of such work, with a few copies available for distribution outside his own Repository, when printing and formal publication would be out of the question.

(*d*) *The List.* This (using the word in our own sense) need not detain us : we have, in fact, dealt with the *List* already, in company with the *Inventory*, the *Summary Inventory* and the *Shelf List*, as part of the necessary equipment for Repository Staff. Though it is equally essential in the Students' Room its use seldom goes further : and by itself it is seldom worth printing.

(*e*) *The Descriptive List.* The treatment given to individual documents in this form is much the same as that we have already seen applied to the ' Miscellaneous ' classes in our *Inventories*. Here we have it extended to classes of all kinds : and though obviously it is more suitable to small documents than to large ones it is surprising how useful a Descriptive List even of a series of large Rolls or Registers may be ; and how much information it may convey in a small space.

As to the manner of presenting this information one general principle may be laid down. Whenever it is possible, the personality of the modern editor is to be eliminated and the document left to speak for itself : dates and names, for instance, should be given in the form in which they appear in the original ; with their modern form (if that is desired) inserted after them within brackets.

What then is the information which our Descriptive List is to provide ? Our object is to give the reader some idea of the existence, date, nature and extent of each document : so that he may at least be able to judge how far it is likely to be useful for his particular line of enquiry. But obviously some of our headings, and the extent to which we can fill them, must vary with the nature of the Class of documents we are treating : we

may lay it down that a Descriptive List of *Deeds* is to shew all personal names which occur ; but we clearly could not do so in regard to a Descriptive List of *Plea Rolls*. Probably the most we can say is that certain headings will be of constant occurrence —those of the *Reference*, *Nature*, *Date* and *Size* of each document : that others—the *Subject*, *Personal* and *Topographical* headings— will be of frequent if not general occurrence, though the character of the information given will vary continually : that others again—*material*, *make-up*, *documentary form*, *language*, *seals*, and perhaps *writing*—will be occasional : and finally that some will be entirely *ad hoc*, appropriate to the description of documents of one particular class.

(*f*) *The Descriptive List : continued.* So much for variation in description as between Classes : but from another point of view we may stress the possibility not of variation but of similarity. There are many classes of Archives which occur with great frequency in small and large Repositories all over England : the number of surviving series of Manorial Records, for instance, cannot be less than 10,000 [1] and the number of individuals and institutions controlling them must run, at least, into many hundreds. Supposing that descriptive lists of all these records were available, all made in the same way, is it not obvious (provided, of course, that the method of description was carefully worked out and adequate) that we should have in effect an enormous single Descriptive List, infinitely more valuable, because of the opportunities it offered for comparative study, than its component parts could be ? The matter is worth emphasizing because in this Country (and no doubt in many others) the possibility of greater co-ordination of method in such cases is not yet recognized ; nor indeed is its value always appreciated. The British Records Association recently compiled [2] a census of views and practices in the matter of describing one of the most commonly occurring and valued classes of English Archives—that of the *Deeds* relating to land tenure.

[1] In one County for which a list has been published (*Surrey Record Society*, No. XXVIII) there were found to be over 200 series.

[2] For the purpose of its Annual Conference in 1935 : see its *Proceedings*, Number 1.

The result of an analysis of replies from some 70 distinct institutions was remarkable : for out of 15 possible headings or methods of descriptions enumerated in a questionnaire none proved to be in use in every case and only 8 in more than 50 per cent. of cases. The same Association is endeavouring now to find out [1] if an agreed form of headings for the description of documents of this kind could be generally adopted. It is greatly to be desired that such a general agreement should be found possible not only in this but in many other instances : and that Archivists and Students should become used to the idea that a measure of community of practice need not necessarily involve a harmful sacrifice of individuality.

I have said nothing of the possibility that if common methods were anything like universal, copies of the descriptive lists of documents of a given kind might be assembled from scattered repositories and sorted together at a single centre of reference. Such a possibility is far distant and the practical details of any scheme of the kind would need careful consideration : but its value to scholarship, in certain cases at least, would be very great. Can anyone doubt, for example, the value to Students of a composite Descriptive List of all the existing Cartularies in England ? And if of Cartularies, why not of all Private Accounts (other than Manorial ones) before (say) 1700, and of many other types of document ? A long list of such *desiderata* could easily be imagined : and some of the smaller ones will probably be obtained. The question is whether we cannot make some of the larger ones a practical possibility ; and that without any extra expenditure of labour, merely by taking thought.

(*g*) The *Transcript*, *Calendar*, *etc.* We pass here to the side of Archive work on which the interest of the outside Student definitely predominates : it is also the side least closely connected with the Archivist's primary functions ; and the side which he, owing to pressure of other duties, will have to leave in many cases to scholars from without. We may therefore pass lightly, while recommending the Committees' conclusions to very careful consideration. The governing principle of their

[1] A Report is promised shortly.

Rules for Transcription is that so far as the resources of typography permit the Transcriber is to reproduce all peculiarities of the original : he is not to concern himself with any question as to their value or interest, not to exercise his judgement in any way. Practically the only exceptions are that he may extend abbreviations in early documents when there can be no doubt as to the way in which the original writer would have written them *in extenso* ; and (more doubtfully) that he may, under certain circumstances, deal with a recurrent peculiarity (such as a meaningless abbreviation) in a single initial note. The First Committee's Report goes on to envisage an Editor, a trained scholar, who (with many precautions carefully specified) may be allowed to relax, before publication, some of the Transcriber's severer orthodoxies : but the Transcriber himself ' however skilled ' (to quote the Report) ' will find the maximum of safety in simply printing his transcript as it stands '.

The *Calendar* is a précis whose compiler endeavours, while economizing space, to achieve the same end as the Editor of a full text—that of making consultation of the original document unnecessary save in exceptional circumstances : he is to ' aim at preserving as much as possible of the language of the original, and all the matter contained in it, irrespective of the points which interest himself ' ; to ' employ some typographical convention to distinguish his own words from those of the original ' ; and wherever possible should use the method of making a complete transcript and then striking out otiose words or phrases and indicating these omissions by some conventional sign. In regard to spelling, punctuation and the like he can still be governed by the rules prescribed for the making of an accurate text.

(*h*) *Conclusion.* Other portions of the First Report which may be recommended to special attention are those in which the parts to be played by *Text*, *Introduction* and *Index* respectively are carefully defined. The recommendations to the indexer of a printed text may be usefully applied (as we have already suggested) by the Archivist to the making of Indexes referring directly into his Archives. One point which the Committees

perhaps hardly stress enough is the value of *Facsimile Reproductions* as a supplement to both Introduction and Text.

The extent to which the need of the learned world without for printed Transcript or Calendar may in the future be affected by increased facilities for cheap photography [1] is a question which we must only indicate.

§ 9. *References to Archives printed or used by Students*

So far we have dealt with the printing or calendaring of Archives on the assumption that this work would be taken up by series ; which is, from an Archive point of view, the only workmanlike and convenient plan. It must not be forgotten, however, that the interest in special subjects and in special forms of documents (the indiscreet application of which as a principle of arrangement has produced in the past, as we saw above, so much trouble among our Archive classes) represents a very genuine need of the Historian in certain cases. A collection of Royal Letters,[2] for example, may be of the greatest importance to him and may involve the printing of isolated documents and portions of series from half a dozen Archive Groups : nor is there any harm in it so long as it is not allowed to interfere with physical arrangement. This and private enterprise in printing abstracts or full transcripts of documents in the most diverse places will result in a short time in an extremely scattered representation of Archives in print. This brings us back to a purely Archive matter. It is most important that note should be made in lists—even on labels attached to the documents themselves—of the fact that a printed copy is available and incidentally that some given document does not represent so new a discovery as the enthusiastic student might be led to suppose. If the Archivist is unable to obtain for his own use copies of all such printings [3] he should at least have a note of the fact and for convenience index all cases of the kind

[1] For some remarks upon this subject see above p. 63, footnote.

[2] Many examples suggest themselves—Delisle's *Recueil des Actes de Henri II*, the series of *Letters and Papers . . . Henry VIII*, published by the Public Record Office, the *Royal Letters* (Chronicles and Memorials Series) ; all taken not only from various classes but from various Repositories of Archives.

[3] In some Archives presentation of copies is made a condition of permission to print.

in an Index arranged (once again) in the order of the Summary Inventory.

§ 10. *The Archivist's own Registers*

In a fully organized Repository the Archivist should be able to give at any moment the Archive History of any document : he should be able to say *where it came from* ; in what *Lists, etc.*, it figures ; whether any part of it is known to be *missing* ; whether it, or any part of it, has been *removed* for storage under special conditions ; what is the nature and state of its *make-up* ; what has been done to it, or needs doing, by way of *repair* ; when and to whom it has been *produced* ; where if at all it is to be found in *print* ; and, of course, in what part of the Repository it is kept. *And all this information, if it is to be readily available, must be arranged in the order of the Summary Inventory.* In the case of a small Repository it should not be impossible for every document to be represented by a card on which its whole Archive History could be summarized.[1] In a large one this is, of course, impossible ; and the compilation of all the Registers which will therefore be required may appear at first sight a very heavy task : in practice, however, it should not be so difficult ;[2] indeed we have provided for several of them already.

To take them in order.

An *Accessions Register* has been recognized from the first as an essential but is, of course, arranged in chronological order ; so that an index will be necessary. Actually, however, this index could be provided with a negligible amount of labour by the addition of a note to the *Summary Inventory* whenever a new class, or part of a class, is entered in it.

Register of Lists, etc. The provision of this has also been suggested in another connexion.[3]

'*Missing*' *Register* and *Register of Removals.* It is most

[1] A plan by which a card of this kind is made for every document on the occasion of its first production for any purpose is in operation in the important Archives of the Hudson's Bay Company.

[2] The various categories of registered information enumerated above have all in fact been worked out at the Public Record Office in recent years.

[3] See above § 6 (*b*).

important, as we have remarked elsewhere, that the fact of a missing number in a series, or a part missing in a single document, should be made the subject of a dated note [1] at the moment when it is first observed. Similarly we have seen that all deliberate removals necessitate notes : Maps taken out of their proper place for better preservation, Indexes withdrawn from their classes to a special position for convenience of reference, particularly fragile or intrinsically precious documents placed for extra security in a Safe Room or Museum—all these, we have ruled, are necessary operations and all involve the putting of a note or ' dummy ' in the place of the object removed. To secure a Register or Registers of these means no more than the writing of a reference, at the time anything of the kind is done, on a card specially designed for the purpose and the insertion of such cards in a cabinet in the order of the 'Summary Inventory '.

Register of Make-up. This is again best done by a card-index ; often a single card will represent a consecutive series of pieces. Its making will probably mean an initial general survey but once made its up-keep is easy.

For the *Repair* and *Production Registers* we have already provided, as part of the equipment of the Repair and Students' Departments : [2] also we have suggested that the cards which take the place of documents in the Repository when they are under ' production ' in the Students' Room if kept afterwards and sorted into their documentary order (i. e. that of the ' Summary Inventory ') will form a valuable record of the exact circumstances of production. We may add now that they will serve incidentally as an index to the Register of Productions ; and that a similar arrangement will provide an index to the Repairs Register.

A *Register of Publication* has already been provided for among our requisites for the Students' Room : and *position in the Repository* is shewn in the *Summary Inventory* and the collected *Shelf Lists.*

[1] Or in the case of a missing number in a series, a dummy volume, etc.

[2] See above (pp. 65, 75) § 5 (*h*) and (*k*).

A concluding remark. We have called these the Archivist's own Registers and recommended them as requisites for the internal working of the various departments of his Office. But many of them have an additional use in that they will serve as basis for the construction of very desirable aids for Students : providing without any additional labour the framework for subject indexes of Maps, Seals, Bindings and so forth.

PART III

MODERN ARCHIVES

§ 1. *Introductory : old Archives and new Tendencies*

We have headed this part ' Modern Archives ' but it must begin with a matter left over from Part II. So far we have assumed that the Archivist whose conduct we discussed received invariably the formed collections of the past, that he had always space to house them and that consequently the question whether or no Archives were to be preserved at all did not arise. Unfortunately this is not invariably so in England, nor indeed anywhere : from the very beginning of the modern Archive era the necessity for destruction in certain cases has been put forward. No financial department (to take the case of National Archives) was prepared to undertake the expense of housing and caring for everything which the past had left us in the way of Archives. Thus in England, in the first half of the nineteenth century, the Controller General of the Exchequer and the Treasury, faced with the enormous mass of *Exchequer of Receipt* Records which were extracted, as we saw,[1] from the vaults of Somerset House, found it necessary to make provision of what was then thought a considerable amount of money for the purposes of sortation and destruction. The result, even according to the not very high standard of Archive values of that time, was disastrous : we get some faint idea of what occurred from the Minutes of the Select Committee of the House of Lords upon the Destruction and Sale of Exchequer Records : [2] but of the damage actually done we can form no real idea because the Committee would attach little importance to much that we should now consider criminal ; so that there was doubtless much destruction of

[1] App. V (i) (*m*). [2] Sessional Papers, House of Lords 1840, No. 298.

which the Report and Minutes tell us nothing.[1] Nearly forty years later [2] came, after much discussion, the statutory Rules regarding the destruction of Public Records.

If the Archives of the past have by their bulk necessitated, or appeared to necessitate, the formulation of Rules and the provision of machinery for destruction, still more do those of the present and future seem to demand them. The question of destruction is indeed the chief one which we have to discuss in this connexion : for if we are right in the definitions upon which this book is founded the Archives of the future will require, in matters of keeping and custody, neither more nor less of the Archivist than those of the past ; but the question of the bulk of present day Archives is a new and serious matter. No longer bound by the necessity for economy in the use of material (since paper is comparatively cheap) or of labour (with the modern facilities for writing, and still more for duplicating, at his disposal), using methods of Archive keeping which, as we have already pointed out,[3] are often of the most primitive kind, and at the same time involved in a system of office work infinitely larger and more complicated than anything the world has seen before, the Administrator of our times, whether servant of the State or private business man, piles up documents with a carelessness of the future which would be sublime if it were not due as a general rule to the simple desire to avoid trouble. In effect, to think whether a copy of a letter is worth making is a troublesome matter. In old days to make the copy was even more trouble and therefore the thinking was done : but now when writing is so commonly practised that it has become a mechanical, not an intellectual, task, the natural tendency is to avoid the painful process of thought ; why exert oneself to decide whether four copies of a letter, or any copy at all, are necessary when the difference in labour is only that of putting five sheets instead of one into a machine ? why go to the trouble of adding a cross-reference from one file

[1] It transpires in Devon's evidence that on one occasion he just saved a thirteenth-century *Liberate Roll*.

[2] The Act is of 1877.

[3] Above (p. 106) Part II, § 6 (*r*).

to another when it is so easy to slip a copy into each ? And so has arisen the slipshod manner of Archive-making and keeping which produced the colossal stacks of War Records to which we have already referred and even in peace threatens to increase to an unbearable extent the quantity of our Archives. Sometimes modern methods tend in the opposite direction and we find ourselves facing the danger that important administrative processes may not be recorded at all : but as a general rule the problem is rather that of over than of under production. There is real danger that the Historian of the future, not to mention the Archivist, may be buried under the mass of his manuscript authorities ; or alternatively that to deal with the accumulations measures may be taken which no Archivist could approve.

§ 2. *The General Practice with regard to Selection and Destruction*

It is not necessary for our present purposes to discuss in detail the various regulations prevailing in England and in other countries [1] with regard to Archive destruction : because all have certain common features which it is our purpose to examine in the light of the standard of Archive values we have already set up. We may, as usual, illustrate, where illustration is necessary, from English Archives. These common features are :

(1) the reasons and justification for destruction ;
(2) the method of selecting for destruction, including the precautions considered necessary ; and
(3) the persons to whom the task of selecting is entrusted.

We shall find it necessary to discuss these from two points of view :

(i) that of the Archives of the past ; and
(ii) that of Archives of the present and future.

[1] The *Guide International des Archives* (cited in our Introduction) contains answers from all European Countries to a question on this point : but see also the Appendices to to the First and Second *Reports* of the Royal Commission (1910) on Public Records.

§ 3. *Destruction : Grounds and Justification alleged*

If, excluding the considerable amount of destruction which has resulted at various times from carelessness, indifference or such ignorance as that which burned the tallies in 1834, condemned the Archives of the Exchequer of Receipt to 'the Vault' and sent those of the King's Remembrancer to rot in the Mews at Carlton Ride [1]—if we look at the history of the practice of Destruction we find a sharply defined difference between destruction as it was carried on in the past, i. e. by the persons who had themselves accumulated the Archives, and that of the present day. One very obvious distinction is that (apart, as we have said, from the losses arising from carelessness and ignorance) no one thinks of criticizing the past for its omission to preserve ; but from 1840 onwards no person or body entrusted with this duty in England has ever been immune from criticism of some sort. Why is this ? simply because the Archives which the past preserved it did not preserve for our information but for its own : how, then, can we blame it if, preserving only for this practical purpose, it found no interest in certain things which (it now appears) we should have been very glad to have. How joyfully would our Elizabethans, for example, welcome more details about Shakespeare such as are given by the *Depositions* discovered some years ago. Yet no one could have blamed the Court of Requests if, as sometimes happened in other cases, it had preserved those particular depositions only in summary or without the precious signature which has been the subject of so much learned writing : the court was merely interested in the (not very important) deposition ; it did not know what an interest posterity would have in the deponent. Much less can we blame the past for all the little Shakespeariana which accident might have preserved in one form of Archives or another, but which it has not. But if the Court of Common Pleas, which regularly, as a part of its official work, preserved the *Feet* of all Fines levied in it, had through carelessness failed to preserve No. 12

[1] Cf. F. W. Maitland, *Memoranda de Parliamento* (1893), Introduction, p. xiii.

on the file for Warwickshire, Easter 39 Elizabeth,[1] then we should have had legitimate ground for complaint.

In a word we can criticize the Past only if it failed to keep up to its own standard of values. But in the case of the Present what is the standard? what is the criterion of Destruction? There is the difficulty, and there the starting-point of criticism. The person or body in our times who is entrusted with the task of destruction has to exercise choice not on the ground of what is useful for the practical purposes of Administration but of what is worth preserving in the interests of History: and it is rare, as we have said, not to find him or them attacked sooner or later either for the choice itself or for the manner in which it has been carried out.

Practically the modern Destroyer can condemn only on two grounds—one that the documents in question duplicate others already in existence, the other that they are of no historic value. We must proceed, then, to investigate these two grounds and the methods by which it is established that upon them any given documents may be condemned.

§ 4. *Destruction: the usual methods of selection for this purpose*

Since we have referred in a previous section to precautions, it may be well, in passing, to mention those necessary to ensure that documents condemned to be destroyed (if there are any such) are destroyed; and not used to wrap up butter or converted into scandalous tambourines: in England certain happenings at the beginning of the nineteenth century (when, for example, documents condemned as valueless proved to be saleable as autographs) have resulted in very careful arrangements to ensure that all such documents are actually pulped or in other ways so disposed of that their career as documents ceases. Here, however, we are concerned rather with the precautions taken to ensure that documents valuable as Archives are not destroyed; and with the methods employed, under those precautions, to reduce the size of Archive collections.

[1] The fine by which Shakespeare purchased the estate of New Place in 1597.

(*a*) *Word-for-word Duplicates.* The first remark that occurs to us will probably be that destruction, if it is to be of any use, must be upon a large scale : no person or body entrusted with this work could think it worth while to spend time discussing whether one or two books should or should not be preserved. But this takes us on immediately to another question—how much labour will be involved in deciding whether documents are, or are not, duplicates ? because our whole object being essentially the saving of expense we clearly must not make the procedure involved by that saving itself too expensive.

Now the word duplicate may at a pinch bear two meanings. It certainly stands for word-for-word repetition but it may also be taken to mean repetition of the sense, of the content, of a document. We will deal first with the word in its literal meaning.

The moment we begin to think of concrete examples, even if we choose them from the comparatively terse and unvoluminous Middle Ages, we cannot but be staggered by the task we are giving to our Destroyers. Take, for instance, the case of the early *Liberate Rolls*, which we have used so frequently in this volume, and suppose that it were possible and proper to consider that class for the purpose of destruction of duplicates. Very often two of these rolls will be word for word the same until we arrive at one particular point upon which for the moment they diverge, one perhaps including and another omitting : how then can any one hope to decide whether or no two of these documents are duplicates save by means of a word-for-word collation ? It may be urged that one can work by series : if Number 1 of Series A and Number 1 of Series B are proved duplicates then let the whole of Series B (let us say) go to destruction without anything more in the way of investigation than a formal check at this point and that. But the case of two series one piece of which duplicates another is exactly the same as that of two registers or rolls or files one portion of which is the same in each : there is no more than a presumption that the remainder is duplicate too.

If it be suggested that we should destroy on such a presumption we can only reply that to do so is to take a considerable risk ; and that we have throughout discouraged compromises. Every one with any experience of research work upon Archives must be aware that it is very often the casual reference—the detail accidentally included, the enclosure accidentally left in —which proves to be the one point of particular interest.[1]

It is difficult to see how any one faced with such facts in relation at least to the Archive collections left us by the past can give any opinion other than that which Sir Thomas Hardy[2] gave to the Committee of the House of Lords which was considering in 1877 the whole question of destruction of Archives ; when, in answer to the question whether the sanction of a committee for destruction should be given to ' a class of papers or to each individual paper ', he replied ' each '.[3] This was in the course of evidence during which the Master of the Rolls (Sir George Jessel) remarked, ' the presumption should be always in favour of keeping records ' and ' I think it is the duty of the keeper of the Rolls to preserve them, not to destroy them ' : remarks which, since they were made during the

[1] The evidence of Sir John Laughton before the Royal Commission (*First Report*, iii, p. 180) provided an admirable example of this from the Admiralty Archives : let us take one or two others (they might be multiplied almost *ad infinitum*) from medieval sources. The writer on one occasion was concerned to find out if possible what was meant when a certain Sheriff was described as having paid in at the Receipt money *de diversis debitis* : by sheer chance the original account of this official (which is reproduced on the *Pipe Roll* and, to the extent of certain details, on the *Receipt Roll*) had survived and by chance again it slipped in (contrary to practice) an explanation of what these debts were : they were Jewish debts and that one small fact practically established a proof that the popular idea of the famous *Scaccarium Judeorum* as a financial body through which all Jewish money transactions had to pass was erroneous. Even those most obvious of ' duplicates ', the *Pipe Roll* and the *Chancellor's Roll*, concerning which it is definitely laid down in the *Dialogus* that the second is a copy of the first, are in point of fact at certain periods nothing of the kind, serving frequently in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries to correct each other's blunders. The triplicate series of *Receipt* and *Issue Rolls* furnish again and again instances where one out of the three rolls contains an added note which is absent from the others ; we have used more than one such to illustrate points in the present volume : see e. g. App. V (*i*) (*f*) note.

[2] Then Deputy Keeper of the Public Records.

[3] *Minutes of Evidence of the Select Committee of the House of Lords on the Public Record Office Bill* (1877), quoted in the Royal Commission's *First Report*, ii, p. 35.

examination of a scheme of destruction put forward by the Master of the Rolls' own department, admirably illustrate at once the way in which Archivists may find themselves oppressed by the bulk of their charges and the extreme difficulty attending any plan for destruction. In fine it is impossible to lay down any procedure for determining whether one document is the duplicate of another except a page for page and line for line collation ; and it is very doubtful whether such work will not prove so expensive as to make destruction hardly worth while.

(*b*) *Museum specimens and composite classes.* Word for word duplication does not cover the whole of the ground usually assigned to destruction : there is also the case where one document duplicates the sense of another. Thus (to turn once more to the medieval Exchequer for an example) the enrolled account does not always reproduce the exact wording of the original account : it sometimes summarizes. There arises the question of destruction in such a case. But before we proceed to discuss this we may deal by anticipation with a special point which is closely connected with it.

There is a tendency in such cases to destroy a series of documents with certain exceptions ; these exceptions being preserved either on what we may call sentimental or aesthetic grounds, because they are fine specimens or contain interesting signatures or pictures or the like, or because they fill gaps in the series which is to be preserved. With regard to the first of these (since it is a question which will arise again when we come to consider the problem of preserving or destroying on grounds of historical interest) we need say no more here than that it is a singularly unscientific method to preserve documents as Archives because they are fine Museum specimens and that it goes contrary to everything we have said in a previous section concerning the necessity of preserving series intact. As to the second, the making up of composite sets from two or more original series, it is a definitely bad practice because it is unnatural, forces Archives into forms they did not originally bear, and obscures their meaning : it breaks, in fact, every known rule of classification and arrangement. In effect, if it

were possible to make a reasonable single series from (say) Journals, Ledgers, and Cash Books combined, why did not the original administration which compiled them do so? The Archivist is a bold man who proposes to answer to that question, 'because they did not know their own business'; and in fact any accountant could supply a better reason.

(*c*) *Sense Duplicates.* There is only one point really to be made with regard to these. The idea that any document can be considered to come near duplicating another, unless it is almost word for word the same, is simply erroneous; resting on a very narrow conception of what the student of the future (or for that matter the present) may require of his manuscript authorities. Even a small divergence between two documents can indicate a divergence between two scribes which may be, for any one of a number of reasons, of extreme importance. How much more evidently is this the case when the same matter appears in the forms first (to take the examples we have already used) of a Journal and then of a Ledger. It is clear, therefore, that we may best treat this question of the destruction of 'sense duplicates' under our next division. Since it appears so difficult upon any strict interpretation of Archive principles to destroy Archives upon the ground that they are duplicates we must turn to the other justification—Historical Uselessness.

(*d*) *Documents not considered to be of sufficient value to justify their preservation.* It is disappointing, but we are bound upon examination to give little more encouragement to this proposal than to the first. It does not seem much to demand that any one who is to take upon himself the responsibility of destroying irrevocably Archives which have come down to us from the past should do so on something more than a consideration of his own interests and those of the time in which he lives: he should surely regard himself as a trustee for the future as well as for the present. But in that case who is to fill the rôle? who can project himself into the future and foresee its requirements? Within the last hundred years the enormous collection of *Port Books* now at the Public Record Office was condemned

as valueless.[1] They were made available for public research only a few years ago and yet already they have furnished the basis for important studies in post-medieval economic history [2] besides providing information for research workers on minor but important points.[3] We are not on this account to blame overmuch the judgement of earlier periods ; the truth is simply that they were unable to predict the directions which would be taken by the historical interests of the next hundred years : and it is difficult to see how any one can in conscience propose in our own time to do any better for the interests of the future. For example, we have been speaking and thinking throughout this section of the interests of the Historian ; but can we even answer for it that in the future the Historian will be the person most interested in the Archives we are leaving behind us ? We are left by such considerations as these with a growing conviction that destruction of any of the Archives we have received from the past is a course that a conscientious Archivist must find it difficult to commend.

§ 5. *Destruction of Ancient Archives : who is to be responsible for it ?*

This consideration follows directly upon the preceding ; and to some extent ' duplicates ' it. There has been a general assumption in the past that the task of destruction and the responsibility for it belong to the Archivist. But, putting aside for the moment the question whether destruction of the Archives of the past is a thing proper to be undertaken at all, is destruction of any kind a proper part of the Archivist's business ? It has emerged with tolerable clearness from what we have already said that the Archivist is not and should not

[1] By so eminent an authority as Sir Francis Palgrave, among others. See *Reports of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records*, iv, p. 17; cp. the *Report* (1833) of the Record Commission. The late Royal Commission has dealt at some length with the history of these Records but does not appear to have drawn from it some very important inferences in regard to destruction (*First Report*, ii, pp. 45 *et seq.*).

[2] N. S. B. Gras, *The Early English Customs System* . . . (Cambridge, Mass. : 1918).

[3] e. g. the voyages of the *Mayflower* : cp. a Note by R. P. Marsden in the Royal Commission's *First Report*, ii, p. 49.

be primarily concerned with the modern interests which his Archives at any given time may serve. He is concerned to keep their qualities intact for the use, perhaps, in the future, of students working upon subjects which neither he nor any one else has contemplated. His work consequently is that of physical and moral conservation and his interest an interest in his Archives as Archives, not as documents valuable for proving this or that thesis. How then is he to undertake work involving judgement and choice on precisely those matters which are not his concern ? as well expect a Palaeontologist (to borrow once again the old simile) to be interested in the manufacture of bone tooth-brushes as ask the Archivist (in his official capacity) to pronounce judgement upon the merits as historical evidences of a set of Archives. At most he might condemn on the ground that some series formed a comparatively unimportant link in the administrative chain of which the remains are in his keeping ; on such grounds he might destroy (for example) some of the medieval records of preliminary audit—a proceeding which could hardly be expected to give satisfaction to the Historian. We are not saying that the Archivist may not have, incidentally, sound opinions upon historical subjects : the Palaeontologist may similarly be well informed as to the merits of different kinds of bone when on the lathe ; but such knowledge is not more than incidental to the business of either.

But if the Archivist cannot be of use, or can only give occasionally assistance, can we not appeal to the Historian ? he seems the obvious person to undertake such a task and, to do him justice, is generally very willing to do so. As soon, however, as the Historian's claims in this connexion are investigated, it becomes clear that the choice of him as arbiter of the fate of Archives is at least as open to criticism as that of the Archivist. Putting aside, once again, the doubt already expressed as to whether any one is competent to pronounce upon the probable needs of the future, we are still bound to call attention to other disabilities attaching to the Historian. Must he not be regarded, where his own subject is concerned,

as a person particularly liable to prejudice? Surely there will always remain the suspicion, at least the possibility, that in deciding upon a policy of Archive conservation he favoured those Archive classes which furthered his own special line of inquiry: how could he, in fact, do otherwise, since presumably he was honestly under the impression that the most important line of investigation in a given period was such and such? But once this possibility is imported into Archives one of their important characteristics is gone or at least gravely imperilled—their unquestioned impartiality: the very fact that a Historian is known to have selected is fatal to it.[1]

Let us repeat once more that up to the present we are dealing only with the collections of Archives which the past has left to us. Summarizing, so far as concerns these, we find the conclusion unavoidable that destruction is an operation which can only be practised with undoubted safety in one case—that of word-for-word duplicates: all other proposed criteria are fallacious; and in any case there is great difficulty in finding suitable persons to carry them out. Moreover, in the one case where the thing is permissible it is doubtful whether destruction in any fashion which can be called safe is not too laborious (and consequently too expensive) to be worth while.

We now turn to a consideration of Archives of the present and future.

§ 6. *Present provision for Destruction; and the Future of Archives*

We should premise that we are here departing from the principle we have maintained so far and no longer considering matters from the point of view of Archivists pure and simple.

[1] It is noticeable that in the evidence before the House of Lords Committee in 1877 already quoted, the proposal to add to any Committee for Destruction an Assessor chosen on account of Historical or Antiquarian eminence was accepted by the official witnesses (the Master of the Rolls and the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records) with the proviso that he should not have a vote. They did not take the same point of view with regard to Archivists: see, however, the opinion of Sir Thomas Hardy, quoted in the next section.

We might perhaps find some excuse in the fact that although the documents with regard to which we propose to offer some suggestions are not yet Archives and therefore not our concern, many of them are in point of fact not yet in existence at all and may therefore be held to offer a free field.

All countries have, of course, considered the necessity for the destruction upon occasion of documentary accumulations and have made some provision for it. As a rule this provision has taken the form of regulations drawn up by a committee consisting of an admixture in one proportion or another of the Archivist, the Administrator, and the Historian. The Regulations [1] distinguish certain types of document which ought to be weeded (to use the English expression), generally in the office to which they belong ; [2] which the administration, or in some cases the Archivist, is accordingly empowered to ' weed '. The questions we are now obliged to ask, with all diffidence, are

(i) is this system effectual and, if it is, will it continue to be so ? and

(ii) does it produce Archives of the same quality as those the past has bequeathed to us ?

To the first of these questions our war experience, however abnormal that may be, in conjunction with what we have already suggested of the increasing tendency to manufacture Archives on a hopelessly gigantic scale (a tendency by no means confined to Departments of State), seems to return an emphatic negative. There is, as we have already remarked, a real danger that in the future research work upon Archives

[1] The term is perhaps a little misleading so far as concerns English Archives. In this country a schedule of documents which it is proposed to destroy has to be approved by the Public Record Office and the Master of the Rolls and to be submitted to Parliament. The practice therefore with regard to modern departmental records is to have a permissive or continuing schedule which will allow of the weeding of certain specified classes from time to time within the Office to which they belong. This schedule is authorized by ' Inspecting Officers ' (drawn in practice from the Public Record Office) acting in conjunction with Officials of the Department concerned.

[2] It is perhaps worth noting in connexion with our English illustrations that Sir Thomas Hardy (to quote again his evidence in 1877) laid stress upon the propriety of weeding *before* the documents were sent to the Public Record Office.

may become a task hopelessly complicated by reason of their mere bulk.

To the second question we must devote a separate section.

§ 7. *The selection of Modern Archives*

If we look at the objections we have already raised to the possible methods of destroying portions of our older Archive collections, we shall see that all are based on the difficulties that arise when the Archivist and the Historian are given what amounts to a share in the creation of those Archives which it is their true business only to keep and to use respectively, and we have given our reasons for holding those difficulties to be insuperable. We can only add here that if they were insuperable in regard to the Archives of the past, they must be equally so in regard to those of the present and future. On the other hand, we have already described certain destruction of Archives which has occurred in the past as being of a nature not open to criticism. That was the destruction carried out before our time by the original owners of the documents and based on a point of view having nothing to do with the documents' position either as Archives or as historical evidences. In fine, for the Archivist to destroy a document because he thinks it useless is to import into the collection under his charge what we have been throughout most anxious to keep out of it, an element of his personal judgement ; for the Historian to destroy because he thinks a document useless may be safer at the moment (since he presumably knows more history than the Archivist), but is even more destructive of the Archives' reputation for impartiality in the future : but for an Administrative body to destroy what it no longer needs is a matter entirely within its competence and an action which future ages (even though they may find reason to deplore it) cannot possibly criticize as illegitimate or as affecting the status of the remaining Archives ; provided always that the Administration proceeds only upon those grounds upon which alone it is competent to make a decision—the needs of its own practical

business ; provided, that is, that it can refrain from thinking of itself as a body producing historical evidences.

We have dwelt, perhaps, often enough in the present work upon this proviso : but the evidence, for example, of some of the English Departments before the late Royal Commission [1] shows that it requires much emphasizing from the point of view of archive values ; and we venture, even at the risk of a repetition *ad nauseam*, upon a final illustration. If we consider the value of Pepys's *Diary*, not for individual details in the history of the seventeenth century but for the broad conclusions we are to draw as to the character of the man himself, the social world around him and the position he really held in it—in a word, as to the value of his statements upon any matters in which he might be supposed to desire in the ordinary way to create some particular impression on the minds of other people—we shall see that the first and most essential question to be settled is—did he (in spite of the cipher), or did he not, contemplate the possibility that his work would be read by other people ? The position of Archives should be the position of the Diary with that question answered in the negative : that is the position we are trying to assure to the Archives of the future.

Here then, in the case of the Archives now compiling and those to be compiled in the future, we have at last a place where destruction may be possible ; and in the action of the Administration, the actual body which produces the Archives, upon its own documents *before they reach the Archive stage* we may have the solution of our difficulties. It will be seen that we propose to follow to some extent what is the normal practice of the present day in relying upon the Administrator himself to deal with the growing bulk of his own collections. The difference in our point of view is that we wish to increase his

[1] *Second Report*, ii, p. 21. ' The War Office takes the view that the papers existing in . . . Commands are not Public Records but *papers likely to be of interest* are sent up to the War Office and so become Records of the Department.' The words here italicized may not refer to the interests of History, but they indicate at least the direction in which this danger may be looked for.

activities and to eliminate from them any motive based on the alleged historical requirements of the future. At the same time we wish to ensure that the future (whose exact needs we do not know) shall be provided at least with as representative a body of unimpeachable Archives as the past has left to us.

We are faced, then, with two questions only.

(i) How can we ensure that the Administrator will destroy enough ?

(ii) *Per contra*, may he not destroy too much ? If they are left long enough all documents become useless for the purposes of current business and he might therefore destroy all or nearly all : how is this to be avoided ?

§ 8. *Summarizing*

Let us summarize, to avoid confusion, the conclusions so far arrived at : we may thus get a clear idea of the object at which we are aiming.

Touching the Archives of the past we have found great objections to any destruction, except in the one case ; and there only under conditions attended by an expenditure of so much labour as seems likely to be prohibitive.

The Archives of the present we will leave aside for the time.

Touching the Archives of the future we have seen reason to think that an increase in bulk is going on which may seriously imperil Archive work.

We have suggested that much might be done by what is, in effect, a reversion to old procedure ; i. e. by making the Administrator the sole agent for the selection and destruction of his own documents : only we have to make sure that he destroys enough.

Faced in fact by the prospect of impossible accumulations and realizing that the same thing will happen to the Archivist of the future which has happened to us (i. e. that once these accumulations become Archives [1] there will be insuperable

[1] Cp. our definition of the point at which documents become Archives, above, Part I, § 2 (*e*).

difficulties in the way of any system of selection and destruction which can be devised), we propose to try to *prevent the accumulations occurring at all* ; to deal with the matter before documents come to the Archive state and the Archivist's custody.

On the other hand, we must see that our Administrator does not revert too completely to primitive habits and destroy unreasonably.

§ 9. *The work of the Archive Maker*

Let us begin by setting down the desired qualities for our Administrator in respect of Archive-making.

(i) The Archives of the future must have the same qualities as those of the past ; therefore, any line of action we lay down for him must *not* be based on the hypothetical needs of the historian of the future :

(ii) he must leave memorial of all the proceedings of importance which occur in his office : this provided for,

(iii) he must preserve as little as possible :

(iv) he must deposit (i. e. turn his documents into Archives) as regularly as possible, and thereafter leave them undisturbed : and

(v) he must arrange and classify in such a way as to help the Archivist as much as possible ; we wish to imitate the good qualities, but there is no need to repeat the confusions of the past.

The last two of these may mean a number of carefully framed regulations ; but the first three appear to be to some extent conflicting and they constitute the real crux of the whole matter.

§ 10. *The Golden Rule of Archive Making*

It is agreed that the accumulation of documents in an office is to be cut down as far as possible ; but at the same time the basis of accumulation is to be no other than that

which it has been in the past. Concerning the particular varieties of Register, File, or Index required in different offices there will certainly be various opinions, but concerning the end which their preservation is to serve there can be only one : it is (to go back to our original investigation of the beginnings of Archive making [1]) that they may serve as ' a convenient form of artificial memory ' ; that the Administrator, called upon to take up any piece of business, may not be dependent on his own memory, but find a summary of all that has been done in the past on this matter in his files. Those files should therefore cover the existence and functioning of the Office as a whole and the work of all its departments, subdivisions, and members in their official capacity : neither more nor less. It follows that an ideal set of office papers of this description should furnish us with the standard we require for our Administrator's work in connexion with the making of his collection of documents.

Now it is clear that such a set of papers should supply information as to the Authority which enables either the Office as a whole or any of its responsible officials to take action ; as to the action which has already been taken on various occasions in the past ; and as to the business actually in hand at the present moment. But it is equally clear that, supplied with this information, any person of a suitable standard of knowledge, intelligence, and character could after due study of the Office documents proceed to carry on the Office work. It appears then that the golden rule for the Administrator, so far as concerns his papers, must be to have them always in such a state of completeness and order that, supposing himself and his staff to be by some accident obliterated, a successor totally ignorant of the work of the office would be able to take it up and carry it on with the least possible inconvenience and delay simply on the strength of a study of the Office Files.

[1] Above, Part II, § 1.

§ 11. *Conclusion*

Since this book was first written I have frequently had propounded to me four questions. First, is it not a fact that since Archives have begun to be used freely the knowledge that his Office documents may one day figure as historical evidences has affected the conduct and point of view of their compiler? Next, at what point do the makers of Archives begin to be self-conscious—to keep, as it were, an eye on posterity? Then, how far is the resultant deterioration in Archives general? And finally, supposing we do secure the most careful and conscientious practices on the part of Archive-makers in regard to the documents which they preserve or destroy, how far even so can we count upon eliminating the 'self-conscious' element?

In reply we may begin by remarking that certain types of Archives are much more immune from this danger than others because the writer is merely a person employed to record facts. The Accountant (by which word I do not mean the Financier making a statement but the clerk who puts down and adds up items of receipt and expenditure) is concerned only with certain arithmetical rules in the application of which he will be checked by an Auditor: if he thinks at all of other readers who may use his Records in the future he thinks of them only as a fresh set of Auditors: and *mutatis mutandis* the same may be said of many compilers of Minutes and Registers: they fear no criticism except on the point of accuracy. The trouble comes when the anticipated criticism is not to be directed at the way in which the writing was done but at the conduct or views which the writing reveals.

It follows that confidential correspondence and the memoranda and comments written, or at least authenticated, for office purposes by responsible persons with their own hands (types of document which have bulked increasingly in Archives ever since the practice of writing became general [1]) are much more likely to suffer from the 'self-consciousness' of the writer than those of a more formal and routine character. They may

[1] i. e. in the 16th century and later.

suffer even though the writer has not any reason to believe that his words will be read by critical eyes in the immediate future : they will almost certainly suffer if he has.

The matter is by no means one of mere academic interest : it has an obvious bearing on the historical criticism of documents of a certain kind and also on policy in the matter of opening up such Archives to public inspection. Apart from a question (which certainly arises [1]) of the propriety of protecting high officials from unfair criticism it would seem that we have to recognize the possibility that the actually responsible administrator may seek refuge in methods of communication (there are now plenty at his disposal) which leave no written remains : in which case we shall revert for practical purposes to the medieval state of Administration when the actual writing was very seldom done by any but inferior hands and the most vital part of an important transaction was liable to be left unrecorded.

How far we have already reached this stage is a question which must be left for the future Historians of the year 1936 to decide. Meanwhile we may proceed to discuss means by which the results of modern Office machinery can, if the users of that machinery choose, be equated with those of earlier times.

[1] It has actually been discussed publicly in recent years in relation to the Confidential Minutes of high officials in Public Offices in this Country.

PART IV

ARCHIVE MAKING

§ 1. *Introductory*

If our definitions and the conclusions as to Archive value upon which we have proceeded so far are correct, all we have said regarding the treatment of Archives of the past may be taken by those who will as directly introductory to the sections in which we shall now discuss the Archives of the Future. We began by investigating the evolution of Archives and the stages by which they have reached us and discovered therein the foundation of those qualities which give to Archives their distinctive character and value ; and we went on to formulate the rules by which those qualities may be preserved unimpaired in the present ; treating finally a matter which lies on the borderland between the old and the new, the question of selection and destruction. Since, then, our object must be to ensure that the Future shall be provided by our time with Archives at least as good in quality as those which the Past has bequeathed to us, much of what we have said concerning the Archives of the past will hold good in relation to those of the present and future : the rules as to care and custody, numeration and classification, will be the same ; [1] the adventures to which Archives may be liable in the course of transmission [2] will be the same ; the same lessons may be drawn from the errors and successes of the Past in Archive-keeping.[3] But there is one matter entirely new : whereas up to the present we have been concerned only with the preservation of Archive quality we have now to consider the possibility of creating it : that is to say, we have to try to balance between the desire to provide for the needs of the Future and a determination to

[1] Above, Part II, §§ 5–9.

[2] Part II, § 2.

[3] Appendix V (i).

copy the impartiality of the Past ; to lay down lines for Archive-making to follow now, while excluding any possibility of what should be Archives becoming propaganda for posterity. This problem and that of bulk, which if not new is at least very much intensified in our time, will mainly occupy our attention in the next few sections.

We had better, perhaps, disclaim from the first any intention of dictating upon points of detail in Archive-making. The questions we are discussing relate to all Archives alike, public and private, in all Countries. The range of subjects covered and the necessary variety of procedure are thus so enormous that to attempt anything more than the quotation of a few examples and the formulation of certain essential principles would merely be impertinent. Keeping in view, then, always our purpose, which is to equate the qualities, physical and moral, of future Archives with those of the past, while reducing them at the same time to a reasonable bulk, we may begin by laying down certain *desiderata* which all compilers of Archives, in the manner most suited to their individual needs, should try to secure.

§ 2. *Materials, Old and New*

We may start by dealing with the initial questions of materials ; for materials too (as well as the moral qualities of Archives) have been gravely compromised by modern usage : papers, in particular, have suffered from the introduction of woodpulp as a material, especially that variety of it known as mechanical woodpulp ; and writing from the introduction of aniline dyes and typewriting ribbons and transfer papers of inferior quality. Our first aim must be to secure that the Archives of the present and future shall be as lasting as those of the past materially.

(*a*) *Paper.* Here we have another subject in regard to which there has been much development since this book was first written. It is one of very great importance to Archivists, especially in view of the increasing disuse of parchment for Record purposes : moreover the Archivist shares the interest in

a very difficult question with a large number of other people—with all those, in fact, but notably the Librarians, who are concerned with the conservation of printed matter. Alarm at the undoubted badness of some modern papers, and interest as to the possible quality of others, though they had manifested themselves long before, were focussed by the report of an international Committee [1] in 1928 and since then there have been inquiries from different angles [2] in many countries. We may be content in the present instance to base a few specialized inquiries from the Archivist's angle on the Report of an English Committee : [3] while emphasizing the fact that there is a large and important literature elsewhere.[4] The Report cited, though not pretending bibliographical completeness, contains a brief historical summary of the question from the publication of John Murray's *Practical Remarks on Modern Paper* in 1829 down to the Charlottenburg researches of the German Government in 1885 and 1896, the important inquiry by the Society of Arts in 1898, the American results published in 1908 and 1909 and more recent agitations.

(*b*) *Paper, continued : recent Reports.* We need not here go into the general question further than to say that though authorities everywhere are agreed on the desirability of setting up officially recognized standards and though much progress has been made in some countries [5] in this direction the problem of ensuring that due advantage is taken of the aids to correct procedure thus provided is still far from being settled : this is indeed, by general consent, the major difficulty of the situation. As to the causes of deterioration (other than maltreatment in use) there is little dispute : it may result from various imperfections in manufac-

[1] Convened by the *Institut International de Coopération Intellectuelle.*

[2] For instance, interest in Scandinavia is not unnaturally directed to the positive question of the possibilities of wood-pulp.

[3] *The Durability of Paper*, being the Report of a Special Committee set up by the Library Association, published in 1930.

[4] Notably in America as a result of researches in the Department of Agriculture, the Department of Commerce and the Government Printing Office, all of which have from time to time published valuable Reports.

[5] See for instance remarks in the *Report* (p. 10) on the subject of Official procedure in America: other Countries might also be cited.

turing methods, from the use of unsuitable or impure substances in the processes of manufacture and from the nature of the materials used for the actual 'furnish' of the paper [1]: but given proper attention the first two of these dangers may be avoided with comparative ease; the determining factor in cost, and therefore in quality, is the furnish.

Grading papers accordingly we arrive at a rough classification in four divisions mainly by materials:

(i) all-rag papers, the best of which are hand-made and animal-sized;

(ii) all-chemical-wood papers:

(iii) papers made of esparto, straw and the like; and

(iv) 'mechanical-wood' papers, such as those used for newspapers.

There is some dispute as to the relative positions of (ii) and (iii) above and it is not impossible that material other than wood (for instance, esparto), when properly prepared, might be proved to be as good as the best 'chemical wood'. But two facts emerge:

(1) that the all-rag paper, unless it is very badly made indeed, is superior to any other; and

(2) that the hand-made, animal-sized, linen-rag paper is the only one whose 'permanence' can be guaranteed on the basis of actual experience of the effect of years.

(It is proper to interpolate here the remark that what we have to say in this place is based only on experience of climatic conditions similar to those of England: there is no doubt that in tropical regions what is 'permanent' in Europe might be found to be subject to deterioration. [2])

[1] As a general reference book on the subject of paper making see C. F. Cross and E. J. Bevan, *Text Book of Paper-Making* (5th Ed., 1920).

[2] I have seen a number of examples which seem to prove that good rag paper from Europe may, without any special maltreatment, decay in an extraordinary way if exposed to a tropical climate. There is evidence that the ink with which the writing on such papers is done may be a contributing factor in deterioration, presumably owing to the presence of acid elements.

Having examined the questions of manufacture and material the Committee went on to the more difficult problem of determining how far it could advocate with any chance of success a general use of Grade I papers for all work of importance ; and came regretfully to the conclusion that, to be practical, it must recommend the use of a Grade II paper for work for which it was desired to secure transmission only to a reasonably distant posterity. At this point we may examine the matter from the special point of view of the Archivist.

In the first place we have to note that there is no difficulty in arranging for a supply of different types of paper for different types of business (heavy and light, thick and thin, and with this or that tensile strength or resistance to wear or folding) without altering any standards of quality. Secondly we must admit that Archivists may almost certainly (on the grounds of expense) be forced in some instances to accept, like the Librarian, the use of Grade II papers, or inferior Grade I, for certain agreed classes of documents. Naturally, the good Archivist will shrink from making a recommendation to this effect in regard to things which by all his standards ought to have the greatest possible measure of permanence : and will also say that to select certain documents (or recommend that their compilers should select them) for preferential treatment in the matter of materials is against every principle we have so far maintained. Unfortunately the lapse from principle seems to be inevitable. One can only hope, and strive to ensure, that it may occur as seldom as possible ; [1] and do everything possible to secure adequate tests of all new grades of material and new methods of manufacture.

(*c*) *Paper, continued : Control of Use.* But the real difficulty of the Archivist has not yet been stated : it lies simply in the fact that a large proportion of the documents he is to conserve come from without, so that their material is a question over which neither he nor anyone with whom he has influence has any control. This is frankly a problem we cannot set out to

[1] It is hardly necessary to say that in the matter of repairing paper, which is to be incorporated in older documents, there should be no lowering of standard.

solve ; for it is largely a matter of public education : at most we may suggest that the Archivist should urge the Department regulating such matters in any institution with which he is officially connected to adopt a policy of doing as they would be done by. It is often said that the top copy of a typed letter of importance should be on Record quality paper : but, this point settled, there are two schools of opinion, one which would send the superior copy to its correspondents, and the other which would keep it for its own Archives : the truth of course is that there should be *two* copies on first-quality paper.

In later Sections we shall be concerned to point out the importance of the work which may be done by the ' Registry ' section in any Office to ensure the quality of the documents which will one day be Archives : and one of its functions (we shall suggest) should be the enlightened control of stationery supplies. For the moment we need only point out a few of the ways in which such control may be exercised in the matter of paper and the other materials to be mentioned in our next few paragraphs.

(i) In every important Office there should be someone who keeps himself abreast of the latest developments in the manufacture of paper and of any other writing materials or instruments which his Office is likely to employ :

(ii) he should grade all materials selected for use according to their permanence or impermanence ; and

(iii) ensure that there is a sufficient supply not only of good paper, etc., for work of a permanent character but also of bad (cheap) paper whose use for ephemeral purposes may counterbalance the expense of the better material :

(iv) he should see that his grades are so easily distinguishable (e.g. by use of a coloured paper for the cheap grade) that no one will have any excuse for not using them correctly : [1]

(v) he should remember that good materials will be wasted if they are not given a good form of make-up : and know a

[1] The writing surface of paper need not be seriously affected by its cost.

sufficiency about binding, filing, boxes and folders : [1] and finally

(vi) he should keep an eye on the growing possibilities of photographic reproduction.

(*d*) *Inks*.[2] Here there is no great difficulty, for good modern writing inks are still gallo-tannate and ferro-tannate and so correspond with medieval inks which have stood the test of time. Coloured inks are made with dyes none of which is known to be immune from fading, though purple and green are generally worse than red in this respect. It should be noted that true ink is a *stain* which soaks into the fibres of the writing material. The so-called Chinese and Indian inks are pigments adhering to the surface ; and being made of pure carbon are from the point of view of fading ideal : but for permanence they depend on the adhesive medium with which they are made up.

The best black *printer's ink* (carbon on an oil basis) has been proved by time to be absolutely safe and this should always be used with stamps ; which, for that reason, should be of metal : rubber stamps and the dyes used with them are all suspect. If colour is required the best vermilion printer's inks should be safe : but true vermilion is probably not used very often in their manufacture.

(*e*) *Paints*. The last remark may lead to a sentence on this subject : true natural colours are still obtainable either for oil or water mediums and should always be demanded : it is also important that the paints should be made up from the most finely levigated pigment.

(*f*) *Typewriters*. Carbon is again the pigment used on the best black ribbons and transfer paper, and no others should be

[1] On all these subjects the Office which compiles documents should be in touch with the Archivist who will have to keep them.

[2] On this subject, as on that of Paper, there is now a large literature as a result of various official and unofficial tests and reports : and the early tests by the Prussian Government and those made in America must still be cited. A good general work is C. Ainsworth Mitchell and T. C. Hepworth, *Inks: their Composition and Manufacture* . . . (3rd ed., 1924). A large work of the 17th century—Caneparius, *De Atramentis* (London, 1660)—is historically interesting and several of the early Writing Masters' Books contain recipes.

employed. Here, however, the difficulty of the adhesive medium is particularly felt : and though it is true that writing done with a well-maintained machine, properly struck, is not immediately liable even to smearing, it is probable that permanent safety may in some cases be found to necessitate the use of a fixative later.

It should be noted that if the productions of any of the processes by which typewriting is multiplied are to be used for record purposes the only safe ones are those which use a species of black printer's ink : it must also be observed that the quick-drying papers so favoured for use with these machines are not of Record quality and should not be allowed, at any rate for copies which are to be preserved.

(*g*) *Pencils.* Black is again the only colour which has been proved permanent and pure graphite [1] should be used if possible: laboratory tests indicate that some colours and makes of 'chalks' are more lasting than others : but none can be guaranteed. Pencil writing is of course particularly liable to perish through rubbing and important documents written thus will almost certainly require a fixative : a solution of white shellac is generally used ; or the size recommended above for use in repairing will be found efficient.

(*h*) *Paper Fasteners.* We may take the opportunity to condemn the permanent use of any kind of metal fastening for papers, and that for more than one reason : but the popular type of steel or iron clips must be excluded in particular because they almost invariably rust ; and the stain and even destruction of paper which results is apparently incurable. The verdigris from brass though undesirable is not as a rule positively harmful. The regulation should be that only non-corroding metal fasteners are allowed and even these are not to be left permenently in position.

(*i*) *Packing Materials and Methods.* The recommendations on this subject made above [2] apply as much to the compiler of Archives as to the Archivist : and it cannot be too strongly

[1] The earliest known writing in this material in English Records is of the 16th century.
[2] Part II § 5 (*f*).

emphasized that to provide *from the start* for a suitable make-up for office papers is equally in the interest of the documents themselves, of the Office which has them in current use, and of the Archivist who will presently have to take them over. Experience continually shews the amount of unnecessary wear and destruction which papers incur while still in current use through being (for instance) inadequately fastened together by a string in one corner. The work of the office paper-keeper, too, is rendered more difficult, less efficient and (though it is true most offices have still to be converted to this view) ultimately more costly by the fact that methods of make-up and storage are so often a matter of chance rather than thought. Finally in the case of large Archives which receive periodical deposits from connected Offices it frequently happens that the transfer of a great bulk of documents whose make-up for permanent purposes has not previously been considered produces a problem which, if not actually insoluble, strains severely the resources of either transmitter or receiver in the matters both of labour and material : whereas if the compiling Office had (after due consultation) arranged to make up its documents, *as they accrued*, in an approved style the expense of time and money would not have been felt.

(*j*) *New Materials*. With the problems of the unfamiliar materials which may at some future time be added to our cares we cannot attempt to deal here otherwise than by a recommendation that the Chemist shall in all cases be consulted and that the Archivist shall remember always that even the best of opinions from such a source cannot have the same credit which attaches to the knowledge based on actual experience : in other words that all unfamiliar materials added in our own day must be carefully watched for unforeseen developments.

That new materials will be added seems inevitable. Already in 1910 the municipality of Brussels was considering the question of the preservation of cinematograph films : [1] and though even now this problem has not engaged the attention of Archivists generally its recognition cannot long be delayed. The latest

[1] *L'organisation des Archives de la ville de Bruxelles* (Brussels, 1910).

addition to the number of great national Repositories clearly anticipates the inclusion of the film and the sound record [1] in the machinery of Public Administration and their subsequent preservation as Archives. The results of its experience will be awaited with interest : nor can we set a limit to other possibilities.

(*k*) *New Forms*. The novelties which the modern office-furnisher and stationer have introduced concern (though the fact is not always recognized) both the compiler of Archives and the Archivist ; but in varying degrees. Generally, since office convenience naturally secures first consideration, the point of view of the Archivist is apt to be neglected unless he takes the matter up in time himself. For instance the large card cabinet, admirable for office purposes as substitute for a register, may cause great trouble later when the question of production to students arises : [2] and in fact the Archivist will probably be wise to work for the exclusion of this form so far as possible in the case of documentary classes intended for permanent preservation. On the other hand the loose-leaf register [3] and the rubber stamp for signature [4] (to take only two examples) are forms which ought to exercise the mind of the responsible official as well as troubling the Archivist, owing to the openings they give for fraud or mistake : a Court of Law (to push the matter to its logical conclusion) might well question the authenticity of either.[5] But here we are coming very near to the subject of our next section.

[1] The new National Archives at Washington provides for a section to deal with them.

[2] This would almost certainly involve a new make-up in which the cards would be numbered, and perhaps guarded and filed together, in small sections. If they are to be kept loose I should regard fifty as the largest number which could be produced together with any security against misplacement or loss : and smaller units than this would be preferable.

[3] See some remarks of Mr. Justice Bennet on the subject of loose-leaf minute books in connexion with Section 120 of the Companies Act, 1929, reported in *The Times* of 10 October, 1935 : Secretaries who wish to use this form for important Minutes would probably be wise not only to number each leaf but to have them individually authenticated by the chairman's signature.

[4] At least one Government Department in London has found it necessary to rule that ' procuration ' signatures may not be used on letters containing proposals which involve expenditure of public money.

[5] See above, p. 10, remarks on the quasi-legal element in Archive quality.

§ 3. *New Methods of doing Business; and their Appearance in Archives*

Having to some extent equated the materials of our new Archives with those of the old, we are still left with the task of doing the same for new business methods. Such a method is the *personal interview*, the possibilities of which have been enormously increased by new facilities for travel and by the telephone, and which, by the addition of new mechanical facilities, may have further extension yet before it: further, there is the *personal letter*, multiplied by the modern extension of postal facilities: there is the *telegram*, which brings us a new problem in the shape of the addition of a third party to the two primarily concerned in any piece of business: and there is the *letter typed from dictation* which brings in the same complexity in a modified form.

Now it is to be remembered that, however different our modern methods of conducting business may be, their results, if they are to be preserved in the form of Archives, can still be of only those three kinds to which we have already referred several times—documents received, documents dispatched, and memoranda, &c., circulated in the Office. Our first task, therefore, is to secure that written memorials of business done after the new fashions shall be made in forms which can be assimilated to the old classes. Every office should be concerned with the framing of rules to this end.

(*a*) *Conversations and Telephone Messages*. Here the danger is more generally that of under- than of over-production of Archives. We have described already cases where, consciously or unconsciously, the Archive-maker is influenced by personal feeling in his choice of methods of communication. Here we are to deal with occurrences of a more ordinary kind: a good example, though perhaps an extreme one, is offered by the case of a temporary local Administration which was doing excellent work during the War and which was asked by the controlling Public Department in London to forward its Minute Books periodically for inspection: it replied to the

effect that it had none and would not know how to enter them up if it had ; its whole working day being, so to speak, one long Board Meeting : all its internal business, in fact, was being conducted by a series of private conversations between those responsible for the transaction of its business. It is possible, of course, that the work here done was of such a nature as to be adequately recorded in the correspondence which passed ; but it is quite certain that in some cases the two modern methods of doing business to which we have referred result in less than the desirable amount of record being kept, and we may therefore call attention to the principles which must govern any rules made to meet this danger. It will be the business of any person or office laying down such rules to ensure that *automatically* and *invariably* private conversations and telephone messages, *where they have any result* upon the business transacted by the Office or Administration, shall be reduced to writing *in a form which may be readily assimilated* to the ordinary Letters or Memoranda of the office ; and that this shall be *done by the person or persons responsible* in each case.

(*b*) *Copies of dictated letters and telegrams.* We have already dealt with the matter of paper to be employed for documents which it is intended to preserve as Archives, but may be allowed to emphasize it here because the paper on which telegrams are officially communicated, and the thin ' flimsies ' used for taking copies of letters typed, are so definitely not of the desired standards as a general rule. Apart from this it is to be noted that here, since both these forms of communication imply the entry into the business of an extra personality, it is particularly necessary that whatever system is employed shall secure *authentication* of the copy or original preserved *by the responsible official* who sends or receives it—not by a typist or messenger of any grade. Thus authenticated these documents take the ordinary position of Letters In or Out under the older Archive systems.

(*c*) *Personal Letters.* The use of personal letters in business, whether private or public, is a practice generally and rightly

condemned. We may safely say so because we have here the advantage of numerous examples drawn from the past—indeed from all periods. The vast private collections in England, to some of which we have already referred [1] and to which the *Reports* of the Historical MSS. Commission furnish an Introduction, contain in many cases enormous quantities of what are really State Papers ; and the existence of these in their present position, if it is not directly due to the fact that they were addressed personally, at least reflects the point of view with regard to custody which goes naturally with such carelessness of form. Even at the present day the frequent appearance of volumes of the ' private ' correspondence of prominent statesmen, which are eagerly read because they supply information upon public events which cannot be obtained from the Archives in which it should be preserved, is an eloquent testimony to the dangers accompanying this practice of personal direction and to its commonness. The rule which was insisted on, often *ad nauseam*, in the British Army, and doubtless elsewhere, during the War—that communications on official matters must be addressed to the Office concerned and not to a person in it—was approved then because matters were commonly dealt with in which the difference between correct and incorrect procedure might be that between life and death in the event ; but it is equally true in the affairs of civil life and in private business. When, in spite of all precautions, private correspondence does obtain a place in official or public business the obvious rule should be that *official or business action taken upon a private or personal letter automatically makes that letter an official or business document*, to be treated as such : that is to say, it ceases then and there to be the property of the person to whom it was addressed and his office should see to it that official ownership is invariably asserted.

(*d*) *General Results of the New Methods.* One result of the new methods of doing business common in our time is clearly

[1] See above, Part II, § 2 (*e*) ; where among others the very obvious case of the Cecil MSS. is quoted. We deal with this subject at more length below under the heading of *Confidential Documents* (Part IV, § 11 (*c*)).

to make official action in any large office much more personal, to cause a general decentralization within the Office ; and we may remark that it seems unlikely, considering the complication of modern affairs and methods, that we shall ever revert altogether to the simple system under which one section or one clerk could control, for example, all the copying of outgoing letters with a single register. Excepting always the Archives of Accounting Branches and the Minutes of Meetings of Councils or Committees,[1] the system of mixed records (the file system to which we have alluded above, or something like it) has returned to us in all large businesses or offices and seems likely to stay, because it is the natural pendant to the devolution of business within the Office.[2]

§ 4. *Indexes*

We have already said that there is a close connexion between the modern use of rather loose and primitive methods of Archive-keeping and the modern system of indexing. This modern indexing is of course only a recognition of the old truth that in the first stage of making an index every single fact must have a single slip : all that our times have done is to perfect certain mechanical means by which the slips themselves (instead of the later stage, the paged list) become useable for general and rapid reference. The convenience of course is that the Index is never finished and yet always available. The reason why we mention it here is because the new system has removed one of the safeguards of orderly and careful Archive-making by rendering carelessly made and badly arranged

[1] It is noteworthy that these two, the only types of formal Archive-making which are really common at the present day, begin first to appear with frequency just at the time (roughly the Renaissance) when other Archives were beginning to be emancipated from the bondage of Form. Thus in England their rise corresponds in date with that spread of the writing habit to all classes which we have already described and the consequent adaptation of the informal letter to all business purposes.

[2] The file system, which is the same as the loose-leaf system, is also the one most in harmony with modern methods of mechanical writing, reproduction, and indexing.

documents useable for the purposes of current reference. It is also worthy of note that there is a natural tendency to multiply unnecessary Indexes ; and there may be a tendency to keep them.

§ 5. *Over-production of Documents*

Although some of the difficulties we have noted above do not lead to over-production this is, as we have said, the general tendency in modern Archive-making, which we are to avoid if possible. Now, there are two possibilities. In the first place there is the case of those documents which must be made but which we desire, if possible, to arrange not to keep : i. e. the documents which for business and office reasons have to be made and have to be kept for a while but might conceivably be destroyed as no longer useful later. This is the most difficult part of the matter because we seem likely at this point to come back to what we most wished to avoid, the intrusion of the Historian and the historic interest into Archive-making.

The second matter we have to consider is the more straightforward case of those documents which are made at present but which are unnecessary—the copies (to take an obvious example) of letters which do no more than to fix an appointment or acknowledge receipt or the like.

§ 6. *A Remedy : Re-introduction of Control*

All the troubles we have seen attending modern Archive-making come back to a single thing, absence of control : there is no longer the control caused by comparative shortage of materials or labour ; the freedom from fixed forms is again a freedom from control ; the system, under which every Department of an Office not only drafts and prepares Letters out but at the same time produces copies of them to be preserved, is an uncontrolled system. With the lack of control incidental

to a state of decentralization goes also a lack of co-ordination. What is the remedy for all this? Clearly the introduction, or re-introduction, of some form of control; we have already a centre to govern policy, we require one to govern procedure in every office; a development of the already widely adopted idea of a Central Registry. We have said 'in every office' because, even if the office is too small to have an independent Registry, yet its Archives are, it is probable, relatively as big as the larger ones and therefore present the same problems. If, then, it desires that those Archives should maintain their quality it will have to arrange for the work which we have assigned to the Registry, even though it may not keep a separate staff to do it.[1]

§ 7. *New Functions of the Registry*

The duties, then, of the Central Registry will be something much more than its present ones of registering and distributing the incoming letters and dispatching the outgoing. It must control, and control absolutely, in the light of the observations we have already made, all matters affecting the accumulation of Office papers. Obviously there must be a rule knowing no exceptions that Registry controls every stage of the distribution and transit of every official document. But there will be others.

(*a*) *Materials.* The control of Registry over this question (the main details of which we have already[2] discussed) is closely dependent on another point, dealt with below—the decision as to documents which are to be kept permanently. Because an economical office will use low-grade papers and inks for fugitive pieces and first-class ones only for documents likely to be preserved. The formulation of rules on this subject will be part of the duties of Registry. In this connexion we may emphasize the extreme desirability of a generally recognized standard in these matters: it is obviously most important

[1] On this subject see again below, § 12.

[2] See above, § 2.

that all offices should do as they would be done by, sending out letters which the recipient is likely to wish to preserve written on a suitable paper with suitable ink or carbons.

(*b*) *Methods employed.* Registry again will be responsible for the standing rules of the office regarding the method of making every variety of copy, memorandum, note of conversation and so forth ; i. e. it will choose the form all office documents are to take with a view to reducing them to the simplicity of the old Archive forms, assimilating them, as we said above, to those already in existence. It will also lay down rules as to dating and authentication.[1]

(*c*) *Preservation and destruction.* The most difficult work of Registry will be the assumption of all responsibility of decision as to whether a document (original or copy) is to be preserved at all, and whether it is to be preserved for good or for a time only, or preserved for reconsideration later. Registry cannot, of course, control the work of the Executive side of the office, which must naturally decide itself whether it wishes to send a letter or address a memorandum to another Department ; but the sending and addressing will be done through Registry, and the latter will decide if a document itself, or a copy of it, is to be kept. In doing this last Registry will naturally invoke the aid of the Executive side when it is in any doubt ; but it is absolutely necessary that it should take the responsibility itself. On the other hand, the Executive may in some cases wish to preserve in a different order or form to that chosen by Registry, to preserve extra copies, or even to preserve temporarily where Registry would not propose to preserve at all. Individual cases of this kind, where the convenience or particular wishes of perhaps a single member of the Executive had to be met, might well be covered [2] by the making of extra copies and extra files *ad hoc* ; which would in no sense form a part of the documents officially preserved by Registry nor figure in its Registers.

[1] Above, § 3.

[2] See again below, § 10 (*a*), note, and (*c*) on this point.

§ 8. *The Records of the Registry itself*

We have spoken of Registers, the record of the *proceedings* of Registry itself; and in a previous section we pointed out that it was the function of this department to re-introduce that central control of official documents which earlier administrations obtained by a differentiation of their Archives upon highly formal lines and which those of our own time have lost precisely because modern tendencies are all towards devolution of duties within administrative offices and (consequently) towards the most primitive, personal, informal, and uncontrolled methods of Archive-making.[1] Under these circumstances our ideal Register will assume ultimately something like the position of the 'Main Record', the *ligne capitale*, which we discussed in an earlier section. It is important, therefore, to see what form it will take, or rather (since the form will probably vary infinitely with circumstances) upon what principles it will be constructed. Though, of course, it need not necessarily take this form we may visualize it for our immediate convenience, as a single book ruled in many columns; and see what these columns will contain.

(*a*) *Accession of Documents.* Starting with the primary duties of Registry, we see that the record of its doings will contain, first, a column giving the date and, next, one giving the accession number of every official document which is made in or comes into the office; i. e. of every official act, without exception, which takes the form of writing, provided that it duly passes through Registry. For safety we will add a third column, to contain the date of the document itself, which in the case of a letter received may be different from the register date.

(*b*) *Placing documents and connecting them with others.* The next proceeding of Registry will be to assign the document, or a copy of it in the case of a letter which is to be dispatched, to a place—a file or jacket if the file system is in use—and to

[1] See above, Part II, § 6 (*r*) and (*s*); Part III, § 1; and in the present part (IV), §§ 3 (*a*) and 6.

enter it on the cover or other place reserved for indexing the contents of that receptacle. This proceeding will furnish the entry for a fourth column in the Register ; which will take the form of the reference number of the File, &c. Details as to preceding documents in the same case will be furnished, as has been seen, by the File itself and possibly by a Catalogue of Files, but some recognized marking of the entry in the Register may be used to indicate when fresh business has caused the starting of a fresh file. A further establishment of the relation of the document in question to those which have gone before will be discussed when we come to our next column.

(*c*) *Description of Documents : Subject.* The action by Registry which we have just described implies an examination into the subject of the document (which may or may not be facilitated by the writer having given a reference to some previous paper). The result of this examination will give us an entry (the subject in words) for our fifth column. To this may well be added the Register number of the last preceding document in the case (*not* its number on the File) : this addition need give no trouble if a rule is made that this Register number is put upon every document at the time it is first received and filed by Registry ; and it will mean that at any time it will be possible through the Register alone to trace back every step in a series of official actions. To suggest that on each occasion the Register keeper should turn back and post old entries forward to the new ones is perhaps to ask too much, though there is no doubt of the convenience of the practice if time and available staff permit.

(*d*) *Description of Documents : Nature.* The Registration of our document is still incomplete, for we are not yet informed by the entries who is taking action in the case ; whether some one outside is applying to the Office, or the Office is dealing with some one outside ; or whether the process is internal, different divisions or departments consulting one another.[1] This requirement will be met by columns 6, 7, and 8, in which it will be

[1] The case of other Office Memoranda of the nature of Accounts or Minutes is dealt with below.

stated (column 6) that the document is received *from such a person*, or (column 7) that it is dispatched *to such a person*, or (column 8) that it is circulated *between such and such divisions of the office*. Needless to say, these entries will all be as brief as possible : column 8, for example, will probably take some such code form as ' A to G 2 ' ; this indicating that Division A has dispatched a minute to another department code-named G 2, on the subject given in column 5 (and perhaps in connexion with a previous document noted there) ; that the minute in question is in such a file, with or without previous documents bearing on the case (column 4) ; and that the dates of writing and dispatch were as given in columns 3 and 1. The use of a code letter, different coloured inks, underlining, or some such mechanical distinction will make it possible also for these columns to show, if that is thought necessary, whether the document took the form of a letter, telegram or note of telephone message or other conversation.

(*e*) *Distribution of Documents in the Office.* The preliminaries necessary to action on the part of the Registry have thus been gone through and recorded—the operation will not take so long to perform as it has taken to describe—and it has now only to dispatch the document of which it has already filed a copy (Out-letter : column 7), to send the file to another department (Memorandum : column 8), or to put it on the table of that member of the staff whose business it is to deal with the matter involved (In-letter : column 6). This last proceeding may raise a question. In the case of the Memorandum the Register furnishes information as to the particular section of the office involved : is this not necessary also in the case of the correspondence (columns 6 and 7) ? To this the answer is that in these cases the whole office is acting through the person of one of its members, whereas in that of the Memorandum one section of the office is giving information to, or asking it of, another. In the first case the personalities involved are not material to the action, in the second they are an essential part of it. Of course for temporary purposes the distribution of the Office Files must be readily ascertainable, and a separate Transit

Register [1] will be required for this purpose which will incidentally show to whom or from whom each document came or went. But the question what particular member of the staff took action with regard to some person or body outside the office is not of permanent importance, because he is presumed not to do so without authority ; he is in respect of that action not himself but the Office.

(*f*) *The Resulting Register ; and Subsidiary Documents.* We have now covered all the ordinary happenings with regard to any document which may pass through Registry, but for safety we may add a ninth column for *Remarks* to our Register : this will cover correction of errors, cross reference in special cases, and the like. It is not, of course, pretended for a moment that the imaginary system here sketched is an ideal one. Supposing that it were adopted many additions or modifications might doubtless be found to render it more efficient, and there are many obvious adjuncts to it for which we have not attempted to formulate rules. Some (such as the Transit Register) have been mentioned in passing, and others will readily suggest themselves ; for example, a Register of typing put out and brought in may be needed ; strict rules are necessary to secure a smooth system by which fresh minutes added to a file are notified by the Executive branch to Registry ; an arrangement for temporary files, and for the enclosing of these in others when requisite, will have to be worked out ; the duties of distribution, of entering up the Register or Registers, of keeping Indexes and so forth in the Registry itself, all require careful forethought ; in fine, we have not attempted to formulate Rules,[2] merely to lay down a principle in the guise of

[1] Such a Register will, of course, include many cases where no action is taken, the File being required for consultation only, so that there is nothing to enter in the Main Register.

[2] Without any intention of going into the details of Office Management we may perhaps take this opportunity of remarking that the possibilities of mechanical devices for saving labour in office work are still not always appreciated. In the present case, for example, it would suffice to supply every member of the Executive with coloured wafers, one of which he would stick on the outside of a file he was returning to Registry as an indication that he had added to its contents. Similarly if a rule were made that members of the staff when they required Files must apply

an imaginary set of proceedings. There is little doubt that we might even devise totally different registering machinery, whereby (for example) under an office rule that all jackets or covers of files, with indexes attached, should be invariably preserved, and that these indexes should be entered up by Registry, and Registry only, the Register itself which we have been discussing might be reduced to little more than an index, with dates, accession numbers and subjects given, referring into these jackets.

The fact remains, however, that we have sketched a method of obtaining *automatically*, *regularly*, and, from a point of view of space, *economically* a summary of every action in the Office which has taken the form of writing, provided these writings pass through Registry ; a summary which gives, with reference to the original documents in case details are required, the information that on such a date such a matter was raised in the form of such and such letters or messages received or dispatched or Memoranda circulated in the Office. It is worth noting in passing that in most offices nearly, if not quite, as much work as this is already done, though not in the same form or with the same object, at any rate upon the Office correspondence. There are, however, certain actions or rather proceedings of an Office which are committed to paper, but which cannot be said to pass through Registry, because they are not normally transmitted at all. We may turn aside for a moment to consider these in a separate section.

§ 9. *Minutes and Accounts*

All correspondence may be said, in a sense, to be a matter of question and answer : even a direct order implies an answering consent, whether expressed in the form of an acknowledgement or understood. The Memoranda also, of which we have been speaking, passed as they are from one department to another, partake of the same character. And the bulk of the Lists,

for them on a special card, these cards, placed in an index tray, would form at once, with practically no extra labour, the Transit Register referred to in (*e*) above. We have already alluded to the possibilities of code in many columns of our Register.

Descriptions, Reports, Plans, and the like which may be expected to figure in the documentary collections of any large business will be, from the point of view of Archives, annexed [1] to either the Letters or the Memoranda. There are, however, certain varieties of business and corresponding varieties of documents in the *Memoranda* class which are not of this kind. These are notes of any kind of proceedings : the Register, for example, which we have been discussing, though it acts as a summary of and to some extent an index to the correspondence and the circulated Memoranda, is in its own capacity of Archive a series of Notes of the proceedings of Registry. More obvious examples are the Minutes of Committees and the like and those other Memoranda which consist of Accounts. We have, in fact, to distinguish between two uses of the same word *Memoranda*, and the same may be said for the word *Minutes* ; each is used in two incompatible senses, the one, as it were, active, the other passive : on the one hand we have Minutes or Memoranda in the sense we have already seen, meaning communications addressed by one part of an administration to another, and on the other the same words meaning a description, written at the time, of deliberations or other proceedings. The second class, including, as we have seen, two of the few remaining formal types of Records, is not one which can properly be accommodated to the routine of the Registry, whose business is essentially that of the movement of documents. As a consequence, apart from controlling them like other documents in the matter of method and material, Registry will not normally deal with these, and they will not figure in the Register. We shall return to the subject of these classes later.

§ 10. *The Use of the Register*

Reverting now to the more ordinary classes of documents and going back to the golden rule for Archive-making, which we propounded in an earlier section, we may claim for our Register that, with appropriate indexes, it would enable any

[1] Cp. above the definition of documents (Part I, § 2 (*c*)).

one to identify readily all the documents which would be necessary to put him *au courant* with any business in process in the Office. But would it not do more? Would reference have to be made in all cases to the original documents which are summarized in the Register? Would not this summary itself give all the necessary information?

(*a*) *Documents which may be destroyed immediately.* We have pointed out above that all correspondence and a large section of Office Memoranda consist in effect of question and answer. Now if the answer is *No* this fact would emerge from the entry in the Register of the letter, &c., which gave it; at any rate a very simple regulation as to the making of these entries would secure that it did so. A moment's reflection will show that in any collection there are enormous numbers of letters which either directly or indirectly communicate a negative to some proposition previously made or implied. In all these cases our Register would supply all the information required for office reference; which, it will be remembered, is the basis on which we are proposing to build up our collection: reference to the originals in these cases being quite unnecessary, it would seem that all of these documents might without loss to the Office be at once destroyed; always provided that the Register is so organized that it can be absolutely relied upon.

Nor is this all. In a large proportion of such cases the previous letter in which the proposition had been made is also sufficiently represented by the Register entry; which adds a further large number to our list of destructibles. Moreover, it is not only the *Noes* which can go on to this list. Let us suppose for example that No. 4/2/107 (we will give it a complicated numeration) in our Register is described in Column 7 as being a letter addressed *to* such a person and in Column 5 as 'asking to arrange meeting': let us suppose further that a later document, a reply (No. 10/2/391) is described in Column 6 as *from* this same person, and in Column 5 bears a reference to No. 4/2/107 and the remark 'appointment 1 July'. Clearly both these letters may join the ranks of

those which, thanks to the Register, need not be consulted nor, consequently, preserved, at any rate officially.[1]

(*b*) *Cases reserved.* There might of course be certain objections to destroying all these documents immediately. The proposition, for example, which was originally refused might subsequently be brought up again and obtain a more favourable answer. Again, though the substance of a letter, the plain 'Yes' or 'No', raises no question, there might for a limited time be some point in the manner of its conveyance. And once more there is a large number of letters and messages of a formal character (receipts and acknowledgements, to take the most obvious example) preservation of which over a stated time is a matter of the provisions of the law. There is a residuum of cases (where, for example, a printed *pro forma* has been sent out) where certainly no record of dispatch other than that of the Register is necessary.

(*c*) *The Routine of Destruction.* We have thus got already four classes :

(i) where no copy need be made nor original kept ;
(ii) where record of this kind must be preserved for a short time ;
(iii) where a rather longer time of probation is required ;
and (iv) where there is a long, but legally fixed, time of preservation.

Obviously these have to be indicated in a further column in our Register (Column 10). Clearly also this entry may take the form of (i) a code mark indicating that no copy or original is kept, or (ii), (iii), and (iv) a code number (we suggest) indicating the respective periods after which (ii) and (iv) are to be destroyed, and (iii) to be destroyed if it has not in the interval been reconsidered. It will be both convenient and easy to have an Office Rule fixing the times for (ii) and (iii) ; that of (iv) is fixed by law.

[1] A member of the Executive staff may, of course, for his convenience, preserve special copies and notes which may or may not reappear in the Official Files preserved by Registry : files of such documents, however, will be his personal affair and will in no case form part of the Office Archives.

Let us see how this will work. Documents in class (i) will be destroyed or in the case of Out-Letters provision may be made at the time their dispatch is being arranged for that no copies shall be filed ; only an entry made in the Register and in the File Index. For the rest, if summary Destruction Books are kept in the form of a Diary and are entered up daily under the days (a month, or six months, or six years ahead) when, according to the Rules, destruction of the document entered may take place, it will become a matter of routine to examine these books every day, see what papers are down for destruction, and duly draw and destroy them. Let us suppose, for example, that the document instanced above (No. 4/2/107) is registered on March 1st and has against it, in Column 10, (say) the figure 3, meaning that it is to be preserved for three months : the Diary for Destructions will show under date June 1st the entry '4/2/107', and on that day the Destructions Clerk, turning up the Diary, will duly extract this document from its file, make some arranged mark signifying deletion in the File Index and proceed at once to destroy it in whatever may be the prescribed way. We have already dealt with the actual process of destruction, but may take this opportunity to repeat the caution that documents having no official value may on occasion have one as curiosities, and that every care therefore must be taken, if destruction does not take place in the Office, to see that they are made valueless for any other purpose.

We may add one further note at this point. It might be found useful to take the last precaution of passing documents drawn for destruction to that branch of the Executive which had originally handled them. The decision to destroy would not, except in very special cases, be reconsidered ; but the Executive would have the opportunity, if it wished, of preserving them for a further period. The procedure for this could be made very simple—a matter of initials. See also the previous footnote.

So much for the documents concerning which it can be said at the time that they are made or received that they are unnecessary. It will be noticed that we have made no

attempt to prescribe the periods for which these three classes are to be kept. This is a matter for Office Rules, and it is even conceivable that an Office might work out for itself a system of graded periods of preservation applying to specified classes of documents ; though it would be unwise (because confusing) to have the number of these too large. We may remark, however, that arrangements must be made by which, when it does happen that during the period of preservation the decision for destruction is for any reason reversed, the document in question has its entry in Column 10 of the Register corrected and is struck out of the Destructions Book ; otherwise, of course, it will be automatically destroyed.

(*d*) *Cases for further consideration.* We may now go on to deal with the remainder of the documents in our Register. These will fall into two classes (to be distinguished by appropriate marks in Column 10) : those which it is decided from the first to preserve ; and those (the majority) concerning which decision is postponed. This second class will necessitate another book in the same form as the Destructions Diary, but appointing dates not necessarily for destruction but for reconsideration, which will take place in the same regular manner. The criterion for this reconsideration, in view of the rules for preservation we have laid down earlier, can only be a consideration whether the document does or does not mark a stage in advance in the line of action with which it is connected. We must not be understood as meaning that all negatives or failures or blind-alleys are to be ruled out in this way, because frequently the discovery that nothing can be done in a particular direction marks what is in effect a stage towards finding out what can be done. This process of consideration is, in fact, (unlike the routine work of destruction described above), one calling for great skill and knowledge ; a matter to which we shall return again below. We must once again leave the fixing of this time to office ruling but may remark that a second or third period of preservation for reconsideration may on occasion be necessary, with corresponding annotations to Column 10 in the Register.

(*e*) *Final disposal.* However many these reconsiderations may be the time will come ultimately when a final decision is reached : when, as in the case of the documents which were more summarily dealt with (whether for destruction or preservation), Registry performs its last act in connexion with them. This last act means a final column [1] to add to our Register. In the case of the documents which were definitely put aside for preservation (and marked accordingly in Column 10) there is little to enter in this fresh column except perhaps a tick to indicate that they have been duly put aside : in the case of those which have come up for destruction and been destroyed another mark is added to show when that operation has been performed. Those which came up for reconsideration receive a mark signifying preservation or destruction when that stage is at last reached. A question which remains to be answered is—how long may documents go on being reconsidered ; what is the limit ?

(*f*) *The limit of current use and the passing of Documents into Archives.* In a previous section we pointed out the necessity of ensuring that enough documents should be destroyed. It is, of course, with a view to securing this that we have been careful to make so much destruction a matter simply of Office Routine. Experience has shown that no other method will produce the desired result : it is so easy to let papers accumulate, and so difficult to dispose of them afterwards. On the other hand, we suggested that there might be a danger of keeping documents so long in suspense that eventually all, or nearly all, might come to be regarded as unimportant and be destroyed. Under the system we have outlined, this should not occur : for we have provided that documents not originally condemned should be either summarily marked for preservation or reconsidered at regular intervals, with a view to ascertaining whether they did or did not advance the business of the Office at all ; and as soon as this is decided in the affirmative they would

[1] This column will form a convenient means of checking if and when a block of documents is handed over to a separate Archive Authority. The corresponding Registers should of course be handed over at the same time.

automatically be marked for preservation. However, it would certainly be well to fix, if we can, some limit to the time during which they may be kept on probation. Unfortunately we here come up against the question how long documents can be said to remain in current use, and that is one which none but the Office concerned can settle. Perhaps, therefore, it would be best to rule that after a certain number of reconsiderations all documents should go into a class of what we may call Probationary Archives. At any time while they were in this state reconsideration might take place if desired ; and in this state they would continue until the time fixed by the Office at which their character of currency expired. They would then automatically pass, after, perhaps, a final scrutiny, to the status of Archives. Whether these were still preserved in the Office or relegated to a special Repository, they would now be regarded as having reached a stage when destruction was no longer possible under any circumstances : this stage being reached, it will be noticed, at the point at which the knowledge necessary for condemning them might be reasonably assumed to have lapsed. The last remark may lead us to suggest that the final scrutiny before they pass into Archives is the only point at which the consideration of historic interest might possibly intrude, and for this reason is to be employed only with due precaution : in most cases it would probably be best to omit it.

§ 11. *Classes of Documents Not Registered ; and Some Other Considerations*

We have now conducted the bulk of our documents through the various stages of their official existence up to either destruction or the status of Archives. A number of points, however, remain to be discussed.

(*a*) *Minutes, Proceedings, and Accounts.* In the first place we must bring up again the question of classes of documents which owing to their nature do not pass through Registry. There is much to be said for treating these invariably as

Documents necessary to be preserved ; merely making the suggestion that Registry, in dictating their forms, must pay more attention than has been done in the past to confining them within the smallest reasonable limits. Alternatively it might be arranged for them to take their place in the processes of reconsideration along with the registered documents. What is quite clear is that here, as in the case of the documents we have already dealt with, if any destruction is to take place it must be before the memory of their administrative significance has had time to fade and, of course, before they are removed to the status of Archives.

(*b*) *Separate Treatment of 'Annexed' Documents.* It will no doubt be advisable in some cases, where very bulky documents are annexed to a single one of the documents which figure in the Register or perhaps to a series of those we have just been considering, to treat these for the purposes of destruction or consideration for destruction as separate entities, though of course without losing sight of their connexion. In the case of those which are registered, any difficulty might be overcome by a rule that such annexures are habitually to be given a separate registration number, with, of course, a note in the Remarks Column showing their connexion with the covering document ; they would then automatically be considered for destruction or preservation on their own merits, though with due regard to the requirements of the document to which they belonged. This would cover, for example, the case where several documents, all of which it might be desirable to preserve, had annexed to them copies of the same bulky document—say a printed catalogue—when cross reference to the place where a single copy was preserved might well meet all requirements.

(*c*) *Confidential Documents.* Probably the greatest difficulty some Registries will have to contend with will be in connexion with Private or Confidential Correspondence and Memoranda. To a certain extent treatment of these must be a matter dictated by circumstances, but we may recall our previous remark that Registry must have control over these as over everything else

in the way of official documents. If such a case, for example, should occur as the retaining of certain matters entirely in his own hands by the Head of an Office, it should still be possible for the documents involved to be registered under a code name with no specification of subject and with a reference to the special confidential safe or strong box ; if he is unwilling to consign to the Office Archives letters largely personal he may still deposit there a memorandum of the relevant portion of them.

We have already pointed out a danger which may result from the personal feelings of administrators about certain aspects of their work : suggesting that it may lead to their using methods of communication other than writing. But even supposing that the documentary method is not discarded there is still reason to apprehend particular danger from abuse of the habit of treating in a special way documents of a ' confidential ' character : and it is probably to be feared very notably in Public Offices where there is a permanent staff presided over by a non-permanent head. Such a head [1] is independent of the ordinary office rules and is naturally liable to be influenced by political considerations. He is particularly inclined to take certain documents which are part of the Office Archives under his personal control, he might conceivably go so far as to suppress or garble, he is almost certain to regard not merely as confidential but as private letters and memoranda which were addressed to him personally or to which he personally attended. How far purely personal control of the highest

[1] Recently noted additions to the long list of ' strays ' from official custody in this country are the British Museum *Additional Manuscripts*, Nos. 37291, f. 208, and 37292, ff. 49 and 121 to 130 (Wellesley Papers of the year 1810), which actually bear Foreign Office registration numbers. An interesting comment on the attitude of earlier Ministers to documents belonging to their Offices is furnished by an account of the Dunkirk Debate (1730) in Viscount Perceval's Diary in the Egmont MSS. (vol. i, p. 54 : Hist. MSS. Comm., 1920), where we find Walpole saying that Secretaries of State ' at their pleasure when they left the office took away what they thought fit ' ; and Bromley taking credit because he did not ' stand upon ' this ' but surrendered them all.' I am indebted for these examples to Mr. C. S. B. Buckland.

England, of course, is not peculiar in this matter; and in some foreign countries an attempt is made to deal with the problem by giving statutory powers of seizure to State Archivists : see (e. g.) the reply of Italy to question 8 in the *Guide International des Archives* already cited.

executive acts is inevitable, how far it is conducive to public utility, it is not for us to decide : but nothing is potentially more destructive of Archive quality ; and as Archivists we are bound to point out what measures are necessary if this danger is to be avoided or limited.

(*d*) *Indexes and subsidiary Documents of Registry.* We have made no attempt to lay down what varieties of Index a Registry may find it convenient to employ : they will vary with circumstances. But it should be borne in mind that a distinction has to be made between those which are merely temporary conveniences (for the destruction of which, as a matter of routine, provision should be made as it was made above in the case of correspondence) and those which are in reality an actual part of the Register itself, merely separated off for convenience in handling. In this connexion it must be remembered that the Register is an independent document, although it happens to act as an Index to original papers—it happens very often to summarize a letter, but its real object is to record the fact of receipt or dispatch ; and it is preserved as a Minute Book of the proceedings in that connexion.

§ 12. *The Staffing and Organization of Registry*

We have now given our reasons for believing that in any large Office or Department the Establishment of Registry in the position of a central authority controlling documentary procedure is an essential thing for the future of Archives. But we are bound to recognize that its organization on a proper basis is not too simple an affair. We may start by pointing out that any branch which is independent or virtually independent administratively must, as a natural consequence, have an independent Registry and Register. This will have, incidentally, the effect of putting the Register on the same footing as that we have assigned to the *Fonds* or *Archive Group*.[1] Its duties may be divided into two classes, one of routine and almost mechanical work which can be done by any reasonably

[1] See above, Part II, § 6 (*p*).

intelligent clerk, the other one which demands for its execution qualities of high intelligence, responsibility, and experience.

With regard to the first of these, difficulty in organizing is mainly a matter of technique. We have not even added much, in the way of Register entries, which is not normally done already in the normal office : the trouble lies in fitting in the various duties of the indexing and registering staff so that they may retain that punctual and routine character which the preservation of the Register's position as a contemporary record of proceedings (not a posthumous index) necessarily demands, without interfering with the transaction of business by the Executive side. This, however, should not present insuperable difficulties. It is a matter of Office organization, of the adjustment of the form of the Register, and of the timing of the clerk's duties so that they do not clash with each other or those of the Executive.

Difficulties in connexion with the second class of Registry's duties are another matter. There is no doubt that for the tasks of entering up certain columns in the Register an official is needed equally responsible and equally experienced with those engaged on the Executive side. If this is not recognized the whole of our scheme for utilizing the Register in connexion with the task of preservation and destruction falls to the ground. It is necessary to emphasize this because the duties of Registry are generally assumed to be merely those of indexing ; and indexing is still too often regarded as a mechanical task requiring neither training nor intelligence. In point of fact the Register as we have sketched it is definitely not an Index, though it is capable of being used as one : it is an Archive, a Record of the Proceedings of a department of the Office to which it belongs, and therein lies its power to act as a substitute for those other Office documents which we propose to destroy.

The officials of the Registry occupy, then, a position midway between the Executive and the Archivist : they are set up to secure much the same objects as those followed by the Archivist but by methods which depend entirely upon the point of view and requirements of the Executive ; and they

must have a considerable portion of the qualities of both, with some (in the way of Business Method) of their own. It is here that the question which has frequently suggested itself during the progress of this work—where is the making of Archives, public and private, to stop ?—finds an answer. Large businesses and departments will be obliged in the future to ask themselves whether it is worth their while, for their own purposes, to preserve a collection of their documents. If they decide in the affirmative everything, we believe—not only the questions of Archive character which we have here submitted but those of control of bulk and of choice of material and form—every consideration, we believe, will compel them to assign a suitable staff to the purposes we have indicated. Already Public Departments in this country find it necessary to provide for the duties of ' weeding ' official documents ; and the distributing and indexing Registry is of course a common feature.[1] We have done no more here than to combine the two and suggest certain lines along which their work should be organized.

§ 13. *Registry and the Archivist*

We have already alluded to the similarity between these two, and as their functions must not be confounded we shall do well now to emphasize the great difference. The Controller of Registry is not an Archivist and is not even tied by the Archivist's Rules. Though it is part of his work to preserve he is really creating ; while the Archivist preserves only and is not in the least concerned with what Archives are made. Registry therefore, while it will probably require to draw frequently on the advice of its colleagues on the Executive side in connexion with its work of ' consideration ' of documents for preservation or destruction, will have recourse to the Archivist only for advice on technical points of preservation. The Archivist, of course, may lighten his future labours by persuading Registry to adopt certain systems of numeration

[1] On the subject of Departmental Registries in England see the Royal Commission's *Second Report*, i, pp. 67 *et seq.*, and ii, pp. 307 *et seq.*

and physical arrangement in the documents which will presently come to him as Archives ; but this will be the limit of his personal concern in them until they are finally handed over to his charge.[1]

For convenience we have spoken throughout of the Archivist and Registry as separate entities ; as of course they are : but in the smaller offices it will doubtless happen that they are sometimes different manifestations of the same person, who combines both offices ; taking over as Archivist the documents which as Registry he had previously arranged to preserve. If his work is to be done efficiently in both capacities he will have to keep his dual personality distinct.

§ 14. *Summary and Conclusion*

We must affirm once more that we have made no attempt here to lay down Rules of Archive-making, but merely to indicate a profound conviction that certain action must be taken along certain lines if Archives of the future are to have the characteristic values of those of the past and are to remain of a reasonable size. In this connexion also we may repeat that much of the effort we have asked for is already being expended in many cases by Offices upon their documents, only without the method and principle we have here indicated and consequently without much result from the Archive point of view. It may be necessary, as we have suggested above, to draw a line between the Offices whose proceedings are of an importance to justify proper Archive-making and those which are not, and upon that point we have no suggestions to offer ; but if Archives are to be made, or rather (for there can be no hypothesis in the matter), in those cases where Archives are necessary, we see no alternative to the adoption of the principles we have here attempted to outline.

[1] A practical question which has come under observation since this book was written concerns the ' requisitioning ' of documents *after they have been deposited as Archives* by the Department in which they originated. This will inevitably occur to a certain, perhaps to a considerable, extent. The Archivist should stipulate that if any modification of any kind—by addition or deletion of words or pages, or by any alteration in make-up—is made to a document under these circumstances he shall be supplied on its return with an exact note on the subject, duly dated and authenticated, for incorporation in it.

APPENDIX I

THE CLASSIFICATION OF ARCHIVES

WITH SOME MENTION OF THE

DOCUMENTARY CLASSES CITED IN THIS BOOK

In my first edition I found it necessary to give in this place a *Conspectus of the Divisions of Administrations and Archives, Public and Private, in England.* At that time I could only refer by anticipation to Mr. M. S. Giuseppi's *Guide to the . . . Public Record Office* [1] in which for the first time the various divisions of the Public Records were all set out in their structural order, not on the basis of their subject interest. It is, in fact, hardly too much to say that in 1922 the idea that Archives were *accumulations* which had *grown*, not *collections* which had been *formed*, was an entirely strange one to the majority of students : and the conception of all the Groups [2] in the Record Office as the *reliquiae* of living organisms, their parts all closely connected and themselves inter-related, was practically unknown. Much less was there any general appreciation of the fact that the Archives of Central Administration might themselves be represented as part only of a single whole which embraced those of Local, Ecclesiastical and even Private Institutions.[3] The suggestion that, taking an even wider view, we might regard European Archives as a whole, with our English divisions related closely at certain points to those of other Countries,

[1] Two volumes, 1923 and 1924.

[2] There was not at this time any technical word in English expressive of a body of Archives resulting from the activities of a single independent Administration. The word ' Group ' was first used for that purpose in this work : but has now been adopted officially.

[3] The first attempt at any such treatment of the subject had been made two years earlier by Dr. Hubert Hall in his valuable *Repertory of British Archives* (Royal Historical Society : volume I, 1920) : the arrangement of this work, however, is based to a considerable extent on artificial divisions according to documentary form rather than administrative structure.

would certainly have been regarded generally as fanciful, had anyone ventured to make it.

The development in the scientific study of Archives which has taken place since then is illustrated by more than one recent publication. Students will probably find it most convenient to study English Archives as a whole in a Report issued by the British Records Association.[1] But the same scheme was used as the basis for the *Royaume Uni* section of a *Guide International des Archives* published earlier [2] by the Institut International de Coopération Intellectuelle : where it is associated with like descriptions of the Archives of Ireland, Wales, the Channel Islands and, particularly, Scotland ; and moreover may be studied side by side with similar returns from every country in Europe.

With these Reports available it is unnecessary to give here more than a summary, sufficient to place the English examples cited in the present book. But we must emphasize one matter in which England is markedly different from other Countries : the *Central Archive Authority*, with which we shall deal in our first division, *has no authority over the others* : all are practically independent.[3]

The Main Divisions, then, of English Archives are six.

I. Archives resulting from the Administration of Public Business at the Centre (which we may describe, for brevity, as PUBLIC, CENTRAL) ;

II. Archives resulting from similar Administration locally (PUBLIC, LOCAL) ;

[1] B.R.A., *Reports from Committees, Number* 1 : 1935. The Association is issuing in the same series a number of more detailed Reports on the classification of various types of Archive Group : for instance, that formed by the Parish.

[2] Paris and Rome, 1935. The first tentative draft for this scheme will be found in the *General Introduction* to a series of volumes forming a *Guide to Archives . . . relating to Surrey*, published by the Surrey Record Society (Number XXIII) in 1925.

[3] It is true that higher ecclesiastical authority may exercise some control over the way in which Parish Records are kept ; that the Parish Councils Act of 1894 seems to contemplate some possible interference in the matter of Civil Records by the County Councils ; and that recently (1924) the Master of the Rolls has been given powers in relation to Manorial Records in private hands. But these cases are exceptional and the measure of control established in each instance a somewhat uncertain matter.

III. Archives resulting from the activities of Semi-Public Institutions (SEMI-PUBLIC) ; and

IV. Archives resulting from the transaction of private business of all kinds (PRIVATE).

These are all the result of Civil Activities. Entirely separate from them are

V. Archives resulting from the activities of Ecclesiastical or Religious Bodies (ECCLESIASTICAL).

To these must be added the documents which, originally preserved in any one of the administrative or business connexions mentioned above, have been separated from it and thus lost their Archive character and are preserved to us in

VI. ARTIFICIAL COLLECTIONS

in Libraries, Museums and the like. In an earlier part of this book we have discussed the circumstances under which Archives which pass out of their original custody may be held to lose or retain their status.

I. Of the above divisions PUBLIC, CENTRAL, has supplied by far the larger proportion of our illustrations. These Archives include some which for one reason or another have never been transferred to the Central Repository (we have cited, for instance, the *Probate Records* [1] which are preserved separately at Somerset House and those of *Parliament* preserved at Westminster) : but the vast proportion have been (or in the case of accruing Records, are from time to time) transferred to the custody of the Master of the Rolls at the Public Record Office in Chancery Lane or at the Provincial Repository (at present at Canterbury) which houses most of the documents not open to public inspection.

The Record Office has at present the custody of over seventy Archive Groups ; of which one is that of its own Archives and two more—the *Transcripts* from other Archives collected for the use of Historians and the *Gifts and Deposits* [2]—might properly be placed under the same heading, though actually they have been

[1] From this point onwards groups or classes of Archives used in illustration in the present work are distinguished in this Appendix by being set in *italic type.*

[2] We have used in illustration here the *Chatham, Rodney* and *Serjeant's Inn MSS.*

formed, rather artificially, into independent Groups. Another Group of an Artificial kind is that of *Special Collections*—we have cited the *Ancient Correspondence*, *Ancient Deeds*, *Loose Seals*, *Court Rolls* and *Ministers' Accounts*. We may further separate off certain groups resulting from originally independent administrations which have for some reason passed to or become merged in the Crown, carrying their Archives with them : such are the *Palatinates*—we have used in illustration some of the Archive classes of *Chester* and *Lancaster*. In this connexion it is to be remarked that the Archives of private persons or bodies have also passed very frequently to the Crown : those of the *African Company*, for instance, and others which we shall mention under IV below, are actually among the Public Records ; where they form part of larger Groups.

The normal Groups, forming the bulk of the Record Office deposits, are sometimes divided into ' Courts ' and ' Departments ' : a division which corresponds roughly with the two volumes of Mr. Giuseppi's *Guide* and has also some meaning in connexion with the slightly different terms in which they are placed, by Statute or Order in Council, under the control of the Master of the Rolls : but, for our present purpose it may be more convenient to say that they fall into three categories.

(a) There are the Archives of completely defunct Administrations : such are all save one of the quasi-independent divisions of the medieval or later *Exchequer*—the *Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer's* division, the *Exchequer of Receipt*, the *Exchequer of the Jews*, the *Augmentation Office*, the *Controller General's Office*, the *Exchequer of Pleas* and the *First Fruits* division ; the Judicial Courts of *King's Bench* and *Common Pleas* (whose *Rolls*, *Ancient Indictments* and files of *Fines* we have cited) ; the *Court of Requests* and the Courts presided over by *Justices Itinerant* etc. ; the *State Paper Office* which housed all the Archives produced by the activities of Secretaries of State before their modern differentiation into separate Departments ; and finally, coming to very modern times, the *Ministry of Munitions*. The functions of some of these Administrations might be regarded as continuing in the hands of later institutions—there is, for instance,

a King's Bench Division of the High Court and the work of the *First Fruits Office* is directly continued by the Commissioners of *Queen Anne's Bounty* : but in practice Archive accumulation is reckoned as beginning afresh with the modern bodies.

(b) There are the Archives of medieval or other early institutions which still exist and deposit fresh accruals from time to time : such are the *Chancery*, some of whose famous series of *Enrolments* still continue though other classes which we have cited (such as the ancient *Miscellanea* and the *Proceedings*, with their related *Depositions*, *Decrees and Orders* and so forth) represent functions which have ceased. In this category come also the *King's Remembrancer's Department*, last relic of the ancient Exchequer, whose *Memoranda Roll* (a mere shadow, it is true) is still compiled though the functions which produced its great series of *Original* and *Enrolled Accounts* have passed from it ; the *Exchequer and Audit Department*, representing the Audit Office started by Henry VII's reforms ; the *Privy Council* ; the *Treasury*, product of changes in financial administration made in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries ; and the *Admiralty* and *War Office*, each representing the union of a number of bodies almost equally early with some of later date.

(c) The last two or three institutions named might almost equally have been set here in company with the familiar *Public Departments* of modern government. We have cited in illustration Archives of the *Colonial Office*, *Foreign Office*, *Home Office*, *Queen Anne's Bounty Commissioners* and *Treasury Solicitor* : and those of the *Supreme Court*, a creation of the late nineteenth century, the divisions of which now cover practically all the judicial activities of Central Authority.

II. Passing to the Archives of PUBLIC, LOCAL, Administration we find little to say : largely because the chief of them, that of the medieval Counties, is not represented by any officially surviving body of Records : but the modern *County Councils*, whose muniment rooms contain also the *Sessions Records*, dating in many cases from the seventeenth century and covering for a time almost every branch of Local Administration, have provided us with some examples ; as have

also the independent *Boroughs*, possessing sometimes Archives as old as any in England. The more modern machinery of Local Government, the numerous District and other Councils set up by legislation of the late nineteenth century, though their Archives often include those of earlier bodies, have not been cited.

III. SEMI-PUBLIC Institutions include all those bodies which, existing primarily for private advantage or satisfaction, actually discharge more or less Public functions and are privileged and controlled accordingly: Commercial Corporations like the Bank of England or Lloyds (a constantly increasing number),[1] Educational and Charitable Foundations, Professional Bodies like the Inns of Court, and the great City Companies, all come within this category. We have instanced Archives of *Serjeants' Inn*, the *Grocers' Company* and the *Stationers' Company*, and those of at least one famous *School*.[2]

IV. The category we have labelled PRIVATE includes, of course, the Archives of bodies as well as of Individuals. We are also to notice that any of the public institutions named above, even the Crown or one of its Central Departments, may conduct private business (may, for instance, be a land owner with exactly the same functions as a private individual) and compile, accordingly, Archives of a private character.

For the medieval period surviving Archives (they have survived, in spite of modern depredations, in enormous quantities) relate almost entirely to land tenure: we have cited *Deeds*, *Court Rolls*, *Ministers' Accounts* and *Private Tallies*: with the sixteenth century, when writing begins to become common property, begin the ever-increasing accumulations of *Family Papers* in the modern sense: we have cited some of the earliest known (the *Cely* and *Stonor* Collections, dating actually from the previous century) and a number of well-known ones of later date—the *Hatfield* and *Chatham MSS.* for instance, and the Collections of the *Duke of Leeds* and the *Earl of Crawford*.

[1] Modern legislation is tending more and more to give public functions to Banks, Insurance Companies and the like, with a marked effect on their Archives.

[2] *Winchester College*.

From the post-Reformation period date also surviving business Collections : we have instanced the Archives of the *Hudson's Bay Company* and the *African Company*, and the *Watt Papers* at Birmingham.

V. In dealing with the ECCLESIASTICAL Division we have first to bear in mind the fact that before the Reformation 'Ecclesia Anglicana' had two series of functions : it administered vast properties as well as exercising spiritual authority. The Archives of the first of these have to a very large extent passed to other hands and moreover belong, in a sense, as much to our previous division as to this. They cannot, however, be left out of consideration here : if only because the line between spiritual and temporal was not always very carefully drawn by contemporaries ; a piece of administrative machinery, and a single series of Archives, frequently dealing with both activities.

Taking, then, the spiritual side first we must merely note that its divisions, and those of its Archives, will follow the hierarchy of the Church ; giving us possible accumulations of Provincial, Diocesan, Archidiaconal, Ruri-decanal and Parochial Archives (we have used in illustration *Diocesan* and *Parish Registers*) : but to these must be added the *Chapter Archives* (we mentioned those of *Westminster Abbey*) which still retain in many cases the Records of administration of property ; and, for completeness, the Archives of Religious Bodies now defunct, the *Cartularies* and other records of Monasteries which may still be found in public or private custody.[1]

We have not used in illustration the Archives of Religious Bodies outside 'Ecclesia Anglicana' : but they are numerous and in some cases of considerable importance.[2]

[1] We mentioned those of *Chertsey*, *Pershore* and *Ramsey*.

[2] They form the subject of one of the more detailed Reports (No. 3) of the British Records Association, mentioned above.

APPENDIX II

SKETCH FOR A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF ARCHIVE SCIENCE

A COMPLETE Bibliography of Archive Science is much to be desired. Such a Bibliography would be in effect a Catalogue of the Ideal Library for an Archivist. But even excluding the special subjects, and dealing only with works having a direct bearing upon Archive problems, it would be too large a task to be attempted here.[1]

At the same time every Archivist needs a Reference Library, large or small according to the size of his collection, but constructed, *mutatis mutandis*, on the same principle as all other Archive Libraries. It seems, therefore, desirable to lay down certain conditions essential for such a Library.

In particular this is important—that an Archivist's Library (or Bibliography) should be arranged strictly according to the Archive needs it is desired to serve. This arrangement will for the most part differ completely from that which any General Librarian would affect : for example, any given series of publications—say the Public Record Office Series of *Lists and Indexes*—would be classed together in a General Library ; but

[1] It may be convenient, however, to name together here a few books (most of them already mentioned in our text) the bibliographies or footnotes in which will serve to start an aspiring Archivist-Bibliographer on his or her way.

Excluding the general subject of History (the English Student might well have recourse here to the bibliographies in the great ' Cambridge ' series) I suggest as a first list the following.

Brown, J. D. *Manual of Library Economy*. (New edition, ed. W. C. B. Sayers : 1937.)

Casanova, E. *L'Archivistica*. (Siena : 1928.)

Giry, A. *Manuel de Diplomatique*. (Paris : 1894.)

Haselden, R. B. *Scientific Aids for the Study of Manuscripts*. (Bibliographical Society : 1935.)

Institut International de Coopération Intellectuelle. *Guide International des Archives*. (Paris and Rome : 1935.)

Note.—Further volume or volumes dealing with American and Colonial Archives in preparation.

Jenkinson, H. *The later Court Hands in England*. (Cambridge : 1927.)

Prou, M. *Manuel de Paléographie Latine et Française*. (3rd edition : Paris : 1910.)

Royal Commission on Public Records (1910). *First, Second and Third Reports* : especially Bibliography in *First Report*. (London : 1912, 1914, 1919.)

the Archivist in constructing either his paper Bibliography or his actual Library would split up such a series according to the Administrative Groups—i. e. Archive Groups—to which the volumes in it supply a key ; interspersing them, if he had a large collection, among other books.

The following general scheme, therefore, is suggested for an Archivist's Library of Reference, or Bibliography of Archive Science.

§ 1. Archive Theory. (Custody, Care, Arrangement and Publication.)
§ 2. Archive Sources. (Printed Guides to Existing Archives.)
§ 3. Archive Making. (Administration, Public and Private, Past and Present.)
§ 4. Archives Printed.
§ 5. Archives in Use. (Elucidation and Interpretation.)

Taking these in a little more detail.

§ 1. Archive Theory may be classified as follows.

(*a*) *General Works.* These, though their main conclusions are the same, vary in different countries according to the National Character of the Archives on whose particular needs and peculiarities they are based. They should therefore be arranged under Countries. This class will include the Rules and Regulations published periodically by Archive Authorities ; except special ones which come under (*b*) below.

(*b*) *Works on Special Subjects.* (i) *Buildings and Fittings.* The Archivist's interest in such books is governed by the nature of the Repository he himself requires, and they should therefore be classified again under the Headings *General* and *Special*, the latter including works on the particular needs of Provincial or other small Archive Repositories.

(ii) *Materials of Archives.* Works consist mainly of scientific investigation into the chemical qualities of *Ink*, *Leather*, &c., and should be classified under these heads. A further division may be made between investigations into *Modern* and into *Ancient* materials. The number of the latter

will, it may be hoped, be increased in the future : works on Modern Materials will include books on Office Routine which deal with the forms of Registers, Indexing Systems, and so forth.

(iii) *Custody, Arrangement and Classification.* This is mostly a matter of cross reference to the General Books in (*a*) above. Modern Works on Library Classification have little to do with the Archivist, because he is governed by the special considerations due to Archive character, not by subject interests. But works on Indexing, Cataloguing and Editing must be included.

(iv) *Publication and Printing.* It may be desirable again, for comparative purposes, to classify under countries : and possibly within these the peculiar needs of divers publishing Bodies or Societies [1] might supply subdivisions.

§ 2. Archive Sources. (Printed Guides.)

(*a*) *Summary Guides.* These are few ; and written generally in the interests of the History of a Particular Country ; by which they may be classified. They are sometimes useful as giving an *aperçu* of widely different classes and *Dépôts* of Archives.

(*b*) *Detailed Guides.* These naturally fall into a classification by Archive Repositories. They may therefore be divided first into

(i) *General*, which will be classified again by countries, and within that classification by *Dépôts* [2] of Archives:

(ii) *Particular*, i. e. applying to that Country, and those classes of Archives in it, in which the Archivist concerned is most interested.

This division is most important ; because in the case of any but the most modern Archives it may safely be laid down that the Archivist will not be able to dispense with any book in

[1] The distinction, for example, between the needs of the Selden Society (Legal Interest) and a County Society in England publishing in the interests of Local History.

[2] Such as the Departmental, National and other Archives in France with their appropriate *Inventaires sommaires*. It will be noticed that the *General* class includes Foreign Archives and any home ones which do not closely interest the Archivist concerned.

which the condition and location of his Archives at any time are established by a contemporary statement. Thus in App. V (i) of the present work Inventories and Guides [1] dating from 1323 practically to the present day are used to settle Archive questions in connexion with the English Records of the Exchequer of Receipt.

In making a Bibliography the Archivist must distinguish carefully between

[1] Guides, &c., compiled by those who stood in the relation of Archivist to the documents in question—we may call this the *Official class* ; and

[2] those compiled for some other reason, generally Historical—*the Private or un-Official class.*

§ 3. Archive Making. (Administrative History.)

(*a*) *In the Past.* The Archivist's object being to collect together works showing the Administrative Machinery behind his Archives, an understanding of which is the key to their comprehension, the General Section may be quickly dismissed.

(i) *General* : including summary works only, arranged under Countries.

(ii) *Particular* : in the same meaning as in § 2. This may be studied in detail along two lines :

[1] *Administrative Histories.* Even in the case of the more important public or semi-public Administrations in England there is practically no summary work,[2] and detailed ones, mostly in the form of Articles, are scattered over Reviews, Transactions of Societies, and Introductions to Texts. However,

[1] It may be convenient to summarize such Authorities here : they are—

Official. Inventories of all periods (published in Palgrave's *Antient Inventories*) ; Reports from Lords Committees (18th Cent.), Select Committees of the House of Commons (19th Cent.), Record Commission (1800–37), Public Record Office (from 1840), Commission on Public Records (1910) ; Thomas's and Bird's Official *Guides* ; *Journals* of both Houses of Parliament ; *Sessional Papers* of the same ; and *Statutes.* Other Committees' and Commissions' Reports might be quoted in connexion with other Archives in England such as the 1902 Committee on Local Records.

Private. Works such as Sir T. Fanshawe's *Practice of the Exchequer Court* (1658) from the seventeenth century onwards.

[2] See however Part I, § 1, of this work.

whatever the available quantity may be for any given class of Archives, their classification must once again be strictly according to the Divisions of the Administrations (and Archives) concerned and the internal arrangement of these.[1]

[2] *Lists of Administrators.* These are most important for the Archivist's work in dating, identifying and interpreting. They may be divided into first a *General* and then a *Detailed* Class : the latter being classified in the same way as the Histories in [1] above.

(*b*) *Archive-making in the Future.* This takes us on to the purely Modern Administration, which must not be omitted ; because the practical Archivist will need to know something of the character of the Archives he is likely to receive as well as of those he possesses. We may omit, however, the *General* Division here. Touching the *Particular* one it is to be noted that Archive-making is becoming, in all countries, increasingly a matter of legal obligation. On the other hand, the use of Administrative History as a key to the understanding of Archives still persists. Classification therefore may here be under

(i) Current Legislation affecting the keeping (or the discarding [2]) of Archives, Public, Local or Private ;

(ii) any works of reference descriptive of the scope of Administration by Public or semi-Public Departments, Institutions, Companies and so forth ; and

(iii) Year-books and the like relating to the personnel of such bodies.

The question of the Materials of Modern Archives has already been dealt with in § 1 (*b*) (ii) above.

§ 4. Archives Printed.

It should be one of the first cares of the Archivist to

[1] Thus Administrations in England would be divided up as is done in Appendix I above into *Public* (represented largely, *qua* Archives, by the Record Office), *Local*, *Ecclesiastical*, *Private* and so forth : each of these may be divided again into Archive Groups (the *Public*, for example, into *Chancery*, *Exchequer*, *Admiralty*, *Home Office* and so forth), and these again, if necessary, into their component classes.

[2] Cp. the Act which abolished the necessity for long title in England and so threw on the world large masses of private deeds relating to land tenure which have no longer any practical value.

find out which of his own Archives have been printed, to keep a complete list of such Archives and Publications, and to obtain copies of as many as possible.[1] But all Archives printed have a certain interest.

(i) *General.*[2] As a rule it will not be necessary to do more than exemplify or summarize the types of work published : the arrangement will naturally be under Countries and within that under Archive *Dépôts*, and, if necessary, Groups.

(ii) *Particular.*[2] The question of the arrangement of these is very important. Three points have to be carefully remembered in addition to the usual bibliographical rules :

[1] the distinction between the *Full Transcript* ; the *Full Translation* ; the *lengthy Abstract* (generally called a *Calendar* in England) ; *Extracts* ; the *Descriptive List* ; the *List* ; the *Index* (of persons, places or subjects) ; and the *Inventory* or *Summary Description* :

[2] the distinction between the different Persons or Bodies responsible for the books and in particular their *Private* or *Official* character [3] : and

[3] the fact that the arrangement of the books must follow that of the Administrative (and Archive) Divisions ; as in §§ 2 (*b*) and 3 (*a*) above.

[3] must govern the main arrangement of the Bibliography [4] because the Books are required primarily as Reference Works in connexion with the Archives. [1] and [2] will supply, as it were, extra columns of information in the Bibliography or Catalogue.

[1] Cp. Part II, § 9, of this work.

[2] The words are used in the same senses as in § 2 above.

[3] Cp. above § 2 (*b*). The Public Records quoted in this work have been dealt with for the purposes of Publication by the Record Commission (1800–37) ; by the Record Office in Appendices to Deputy Keepers' Reports, in Calendars (including Transcripts and Abstracts), in Lists and Indexes and in the *Chronicles* Series ; by various Public Committees and Commissions ; by Public Departments ; by Private enterprise printing in a general historical interest ; and by private persons and Societies in various special interests.

[4] Publishers' Series, for example, and Authors' or Editors' names, are purely secondary considerations.

§ 5. Archives in Use. (Elucidation and Interpretation.)

(*a*) *General Works of Reference.* We have already excluded special subjects—the Bibliography might otherwise take all knowledge for its province : but a certain number of works will be needed in the nature of Encyclopaedias ; Historical Bibliographies ; General Indexes to Historical Periodicals and the Publications of Learned Societies ; and Subject Catalogues of large Library Collections ; all being chosen in direct connexion with the interests of the Archivist concerned.

(*b*) *Works directly elucidatory of Archives.* These fall conveniently into the following classification :

(i) *Biography and Personal History.* This is little more than an extension, in directions governed by the special needs of the Archivist, of the Lists of Persons connected with Administration mentioned under § 3 (*a*) (ii) above.

(ii) *Chronology.* This includes :

[1] *Chronology proper.* (Perpetual Calendars, Lists of Saints' Days, Regnal Years, Law Terms, and so forth.)

[2] Works giving outlines of *History* and *Dates.*

(iii) *Diplomatic.* Though this science is of decreasing importance in later periods owing to decrease in the importance of *Form* in Archives, no contemporary Formula or Precedent Books of any date can be neglected.

(iv) *Languages.* These again are governed by the special needs of the Archivist. The important thing is that he should provide himself with

[1] the best possible Modern (in the case of Latin, Classical) Dictionaries ; and

[2] Dictionaries of obsolete words, and particularly, if possible, Dictionaries published at about the date at which his Archives were written.

(v) *Palaeography.* The remarks made with regard to *Diplomatic* above apply here, but not to the same extent : in England, at any rate, medieval or early post-medieval forms continued till a very late date. Contemporary Writing-Masters' Books are important and modern facsimiles should not be neglected.

(vi) *Sigillography and Kindred Studies.* This is again of comparatively limited interest. The class includes works on *Heraldry* and on *Arms* borne by Families ; and Seal Catalogues.

(vii) *Topography.* Here again emphasis should be laid on the importance of Maps and Topographical Works of the same period as the Archives. In the case of collections containing early documents, where spelling is unusual, parallel volumes published from other Archives, containing identifications of place names, are valuable.

Uprights for the racking are steel strips of [illegible] gauge and of T, L and plain section ; their width 2 inches or in the case of the central ones 3 inches. The plain strips are used for the front of the press, the T and L for backs, centres and ends.

§ 5. Archives in Use. (Elucidation and Interpretation.)

(*a*) *General Works of Reference.* We have already excluded special subjects—the Bibliography might otherwise take all knowledge for its province : but a certain number of works will be needed in the nature of Encyclopaedias ; Historical Bibliographies ; General Indexes to Historical Periodicals and the Publications of Learned Societies ; and Subject Catalogues of large Library Collections ; all being chosen in direct connexion with the interests of the Archivist concerned

ADDENDUM

page 205

RACKING AND SHELVING

I regret that during revision of this part of the subject, I have accidently omitted here a preliminary passage on

Possible Materials for Shelving.

It was to the effect that the ideal shelf would be (i) light; but (ii) not liable to fracture; and (iii) capable of supporting a range of imperial folios over a span of three feet: (iv) smooth, so as to reduce friction: (v) not favourable to dirt or insect life ; (vi) nor to condensation ; (vii) nor liable to rust : and (viii) of a form permitting the vertical passage of air. All this at a reasonable price.

Unfortunately, all the usual materials—slate, painted iron or steel, plate glass, ordinary wood—fail over one or more of these tests. I have therefore adopted here, provisionally, the form which provides for what seems to me at present the most important qualification (No. viii) and is open to least objection on other grounds—a 'duck-board' pattern in teak.

England, at any rate, mediæval or early post-mediæval forms continued till a very late date. Contemporary Writing-Masters' Books are important and modern facsimiles should not be neglected.

(vi) *Sigillography and Kindred Studies.* This is again of comparatively limited interest. The class includes works on *Heraldry* and on *Arms* borne by Families ; and Seal Catalogues.

(vii) *Topography.* Here again emphasis should be laid on the importance of Maps and Topographical Works of the same period as the Archives. In the case of collections containing early documents, where spelling is unusual, parallel volumes published from other Archives, containing identifications of place-names, are valuable.

None of these classes require special treatment in the matter of bibliographical arrangement. This is, in fact, by its nature the one division of the Bibliography susceptible of an ordinary classification by subjects.

APPENDIX III

SPECIFICATIONS

NOTE. There is no suggestion that this Appendix is exhaustive. It merely supplies examples of specifications which have proved effective.

(*a*) *RACKING AND SHELVING*

(i) *Ordinary Racking*

The following has the advantage that it is made from irons of standard gauge and moulding, and is very simple in plan and erection. It need not be fixed to floor or ceiling and is suitable for an 8-ft. room or a 16-ft. room with mezzanine floor. The material for this (grating), and the dimensions for a staircase, have been already described ; as has also the general lay-out of the room.

Uprights for the racking are steel strips of half-inch gauge and of T, L and plain section ; their width 2 inches or in the case of the central ones 3 inches. The plain strips are used for the front of the press, the T and L for backs, centres and ends.

Figures 1 and 2 shew distribution of these in either single or double presses : the dotted lines indicating the position of the shelves. As mentioned above they may be placed to make ' divisions ' taking 3-ft. shelves : the number of divisions

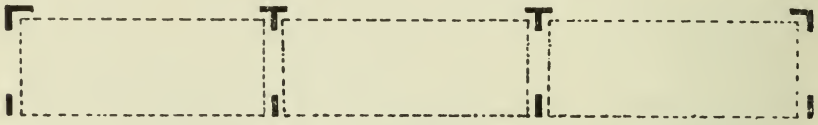


Figure 1.

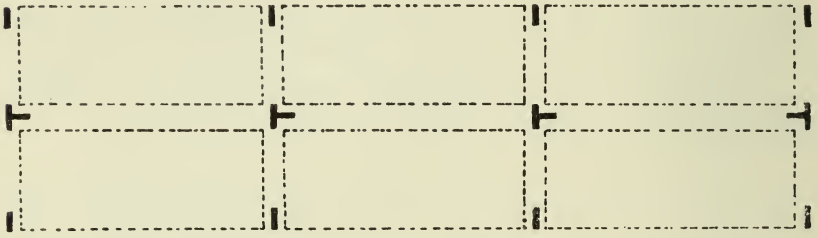


Figure 2.

in a press being governed by the dimensions of the room. The mezzanine floor (if any) is carried on light irons bolted to the uprights and other cross pieces connecting the uprights are of the simplest description and are placed at the floor and ceiling levels ; occasional diagonal braces at the back of the presses may also be necessary. A flanged ' lid ' of sheet steel is bolted over the top of each press.

The uprights are pierced at one-inch intervals with holes to take the mushroom-headed *Pins* shewn in Figure 3 : these are $\frac{3}{8}$ inch in diameter, have their shafts grooved to a depth of $\frac{1}{16}$ inch to take shelf-bearers, and are made in two lengths to go through either an upright and one bearer or an upright and two bearers (supporting two shelves at the same level in neighbouring divisions).[1]

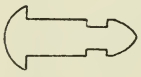


Figure 3.

The *Bearers* are light L irons, 1 inch wide, holed in two

[1] The pins being merely thrust through the holes in the uprights, height of shelves can be changed rapidly with no other tool than a hammer.

places so as to slip over the pin shaft and drop into the groove. The upper arm of the L (that carrying the shelf) is slightly longer than the lower at one end, and is turned up to prevent the shelf slipping forward.

Ends and (for double presses) *Backs* are of panels of sheet metal pierced with large holes so as to give almost the effect of wire netting, as already described, and stiffened by means of rolled edges : the ends may be held in position by a few light flats slotted to fix, outside the Press, over bearing pins : back Panels are kept in position by the shelves.

Shelves are of ' duck-board ' pattern made of teak battens, 4 inches in width and 3 feet in length ($1\frac{1}{8}$ inches out of $1\frac{1}{4}$-inch timber), on thinner cross pieces fastened with brass screws : three battens to a 14-inch shelf, giving 1 inch air-space between battens. The upper side of the battens is rounded to diminish friction.

(ii) *Press for Large Flat Documents*

An upright cabinet [1] made of ordinary sheet steel as used for large filing cabinets and consisting of base on 4-inch plinth, two sides, back and top. Front open. To be fitted with shelves [2] of same material at 2-inch intervals : shelves to have a $\frac{3}{8}$-inch roll on front edge ; and each to be carried on three transverse rods secured to sides of cabinet by screw nuts ; front rod within roll on edge of shelf. Each shelf may be further aired if desired by holes pierced in walls of cabinet. If it is desired to lock, a vertical bar may be hinged to front centre of base and fasten with padlock to a staple on top : or two such bars may run from base to centre shelf and from centre shelf to top.

With this cabinet may be used the portfolio specified at (*d*) (ii) *below in this Appendix.*

(iii) *Rack to carry long rolled documents*

Materials. Cantilever brackets 3 feet $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches long made

[1] A maximum height is 6 feet, giving 34 shelves.

[2] Portfolios measuring (e. g.) 40 inches × 30 inches, which is about maximum size, will require a shelf 42 inches wide by 31 inches deep.

of T irons $1\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{1}{2} \times \frac{1}{4}$ inches : one end fish-tailed for building-in to wall, the other benched at 60° : the cross of T drilled at $7\frac{1}{2}$-inch intervals to take $\frac{3}{4}$-inch screws ; the first hole being $\frac{3}{4}$ inch from benched end.

Five lengths of teak 1×3 inches (upper side rounded) and two fillets of the same $\frac{3}{4} \times 1\frac{1}{4} \times 36$ inches.

The cantilevers are built into the wall to a depth of $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches (or 6 inches if the brickwork is soft) [1] at intervals of 2 feet 6 inches. The teak battens are then laid across them at intervals of $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches, the front batten projecting $\frac{3}{4}$ inch beyond cantilevers ; and fastened by screws through cantilevers from underneath. The two small fillets are fixed across the top of the battens at $\frac{1}{2}$ inch distance from each end.

These racks may be placed close together, one above another : each taking one layer of rolled Maps, etc., of any length up to 5 feet, laid at right angles to the battens.

(*b*) *BOXES*

Figures 4 and 5 shew the cuts and (by dotted lines) the scored lines for bending to make the joints at the base and ends of the walls in the convenient form of box mentioned above

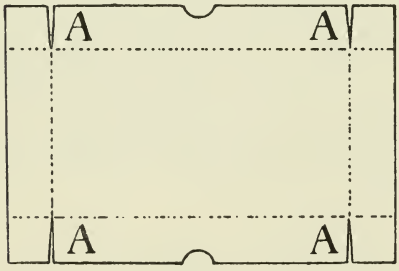


Figure 4.

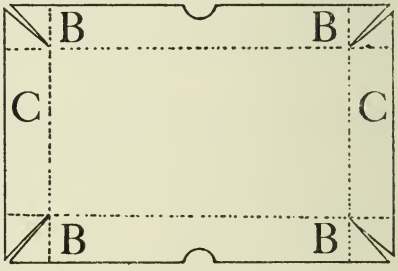


Figure 5.

(Part II §5(*f*)). In each case, lid and box are of identical pattern except that the lid is, of course, slightly larger, and that in the box the two semi-circular thumb holes are omitted.

In the first pattern the lugs (the square portions at each

[1] The length of the irons in this case will be increased to 3 feet 6 inches.

corner) are to be fastened on the *outside* of the wall AA in the case of the lid, *inside* for the box ; to make opening smoother.

In the second pattern (used only where extra strength is required) there are two triangular lugs at each corner and these will have to be fastened one outside the wall BB and one inside the wall C in each case.

Material suggested—best glazed leather-board : stapling of lugs to sides to be done with pure brass wire only.

(*c*) *TRAYS to contain FRAGILE DOCUMENTS*

Trays may be made of any size from 10 × 14 inches, or smaller, up to about 13 × 18 inches, with depth from 1 inch to $2\frac{1}{2}$ or 3 inches.

Figure 6.

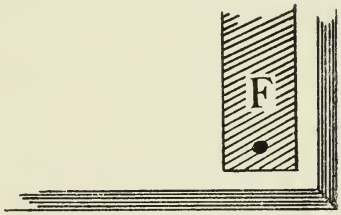


Figure 7.

A straw-board base is glued and tacked (pure brass tacks) to walls of $\frac{3}{8}$-inch wood ; which are then covered with good quality black holland glued on and overlapping base both inside and outside. Base covered with tinted paper outside, lined good quality white inside. Two fillets of white wood ($\frac{1}{8}$ inch planed) $\frac{3}{4}$ inch in width and in length a fraction less than interior width of tray are glued and tacked (brass tacks, clinched on inside of tray) to underside of base at distance a fraction more than $\frac{3}{8}$ inch from each end on shorter side.

The sketches shew one corner of a tray : Figure 6, as seen from above ; Figure 7 on under side, shewing turn-over of cloth and (F) part of one fillet, in position.

A stout straw-board, covered and lined with paper as tray, with two fillets similarly placed on inner (white) side, serves as lid to top tray of a series. Lowest tray need not have fillets.

From three to eight trays, according to depth and size, form when superimposed a convenient unit. The fillets on each, fitting inside the tray below, prevent any accident if the pile of trays is tilted.

(*d*) *FOLDERS and PORTFOLIOS*

(i) *Simple Folder : used to enclose loose flat documents of any size when it is intended to place a number of folders in a larger container.*

Figure 8 shews scoring lines for a simple two-flap folder to enclose loose papers : the second pattern (double scoring) is for use where many documents are to be enclosed. Note size of flaps : larger one (practically same width as body) to be folded outside in use.

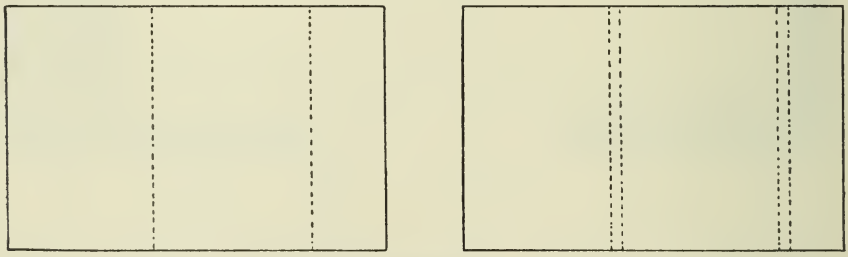


Figure 8.

Material : best quality manilla, medium to heavy weight according to size of folder. Scoring may be done in the repository by folding and boning down.

If it is necessary to use more than one sheet for a very large folder body may consist of two layers pasted together and projecting one on each side to form flaps : or flaps may be separate pieces overlapped two inches *under* body and pasted.

N.B. If pasting or gluing is necessary manilla should be roughed where adhesion is to take place, especially at edges.

(ii) *Heavy Folder or Portfolio*[1] *: for use with press for large flat documents described under* (*a*) (ii) *above.*

Documents within this may be placed in a number of the '*Simple*' *folders already described.*

Materials: Two boards of 3 lb., 40 × 30 inch, straw-board : to be connected on long side by joint or hinge 1½ inches wide, made of a 7-inch strip of best quality unbleached calico or linen pasted outside boards and turned over at head and tail : another like strip to be pasted down over this inside with a liner of thin paper between. Upper board to be covered with tinted cover paper turned over edges ; and lined with good quality white paper : lower board to be lined with white paper, turned over edges, and covered with stout manilla which will be prolonged beyond board to form two 8-inch flaps to the shorter sides of the portfolio : joints of these flaps reinforced by a strip of the calico, extending under the board (between board and manilla).

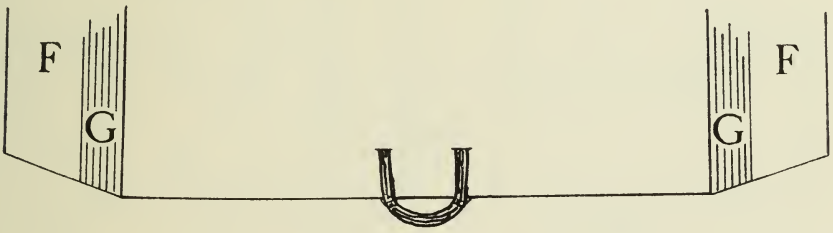


Figure 9.

Two pieces of 1-inch unbleached webbing, each 20 inches long : ends of these to be led through two slits about 4 inches apart and 3 inches from front edge of each board, in centre : ends then to be brought back and sewn to bight of webbing, forming handle.

Figure 9 shews outer edge of lower board ; with (F) flaps, (G) guards of calico, and handle.

Note. If more than one sheet of paper or manilla has to be used for the cover of these large portfolios the edges

[1] Designed to combine the least possible weight with the necessary modicum of rigidity.

should be butted up against each other where they join—*not* overlapped.

(iii) *Simple Portfolio to contain quantity of very large flat documents.*[1] (*'Simple' Folders as described above may be used within this.*)

Figure 10 shews large board of 'eight-penny XX' millboard, 22 × 30 inches (note blunted corners); and below this a piece of best quality unbleached calico 54 × about 60 inches: note proportion of size of calico to that of board. Board is pasted before being laid on calico: then it is turned over and split rivets of solid copper hammered through, two at each corner:[2] it is then turned over again and rivets clinched on inside, as shewn.

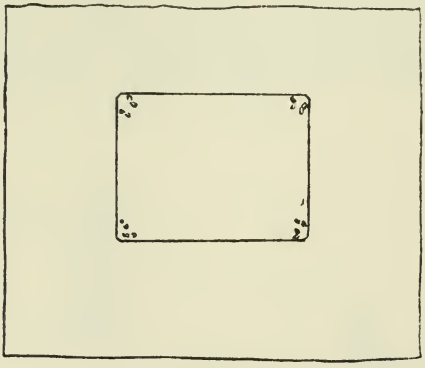


Figure 10.

Documents are placed in this and calico flaps turned over as in action of doing up a paper parcel. A second board ('ten-penny XX') is then placed on top and the whole tied with Italian cord with slip-knot and final single bow. Four small pieces of cloth should be pasted over the edges of the second board to strengthen them against the cord.

(iv) *Portfolio to contain single flat document with pendent seal.*

Materials: two 1½-lb., 25 × 30 inch, straw-boards (or like weight in larger or smaller size). Four pieces of best linen buckram (white) 30 × 27 inches, 30 × 8 inches and (2) 25 × 8 inches (or corresponding sizes for smaller or larger boards).

One board to be covered with tinted cover-paper turned over edges. Two half-inch tapes, one about 42 inches and one 10 inches long, to be led through slits at right angles to long side

[1] This portfolio is of easy construction and can be made in the repository.
[2] Or one may be put at each corner and two more along each of the longer sides.

of this board at about 4 inches distance from this side and 2 inches from ends, one inch of tape being left on inside of board. Second board to be covered with *good quality* white paper turned over edges. Boards to be glued together back to back, about 2 inches of each buckram flap being first roughed and inserted between them.

If there is a seal a length of 1½-inch webbing is inserted between boards (under the buckram flap) so as to project at point where seal occurs : free end of this fastened to base of cardboard box in which seal will lie : length of webbing between box and board to be slightly *less* than that of tag or laces between seal and document. Buckram flap on this side to be slit through from edge to board opposite seal.

N.B. Glue only to be used as adhesive, to avoid warping.

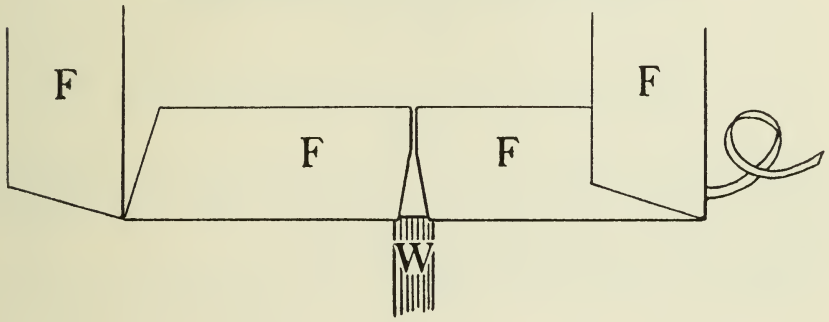


Figure 11.

Figure 11 shows lower edge of board with three narrower flaps (F:F-F:F) ; the lower and right-hand flaps are folded over board to shew webbing for seal-box (W) and shorter tape. The largest flap (not shewn here) is turned over outside the others and the tapes tied over this in a single bow on edge of board.

(*e*) *FILING PRESS and FILE BOARDS*

Figures 12 and 13 shew a press for use in the 'filing' process described elsewhere. A heavy wooden board, about 24 × 18 inches, has fixed to one side an upright backing (B) and at a distance of 1½ inches from this is pierced by a ½-inch slit running practically all its length. Opposite the ends of this slit two

screw bolts with butterfly nuts are hinged so that they can be brought into a vertical position and engage in the jaws formed at the ends of the pressing iron (Figure 13) : which is made of two iron flats joined together by two cross pieces but having a slit left between them to correspond with the slit in the board.

In use, a pile of guarded papers, within material for a limp cover (if that is desired) or file boards (as described below), is placed on the board with the slit below the middle of the

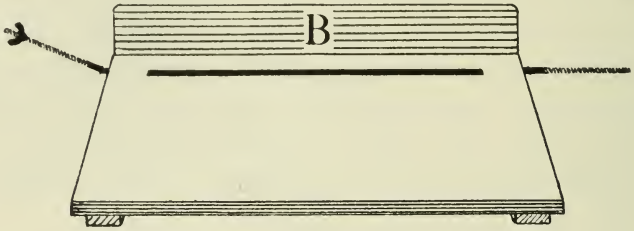


Figure 12.

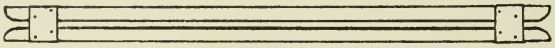


Figure 13.

guards. The iron is placed on the top and screwed up ; and both drilling of holes and subsequent lacing are thus accomplished with the papers under close compression.

Figure 14 shews four pieces of thin mill-board or straw-board in position on cover [1] of binders' cloth. Distance between A and B, C and D, about $\frac{1}{8}$ inch : distance between B and C according to thickness of pile of guarded papers which is to be filed. Cover is to be pasted on to boards and turned over edges. Strip of cloth wide enough to project 1 inch on to boards A and D to be

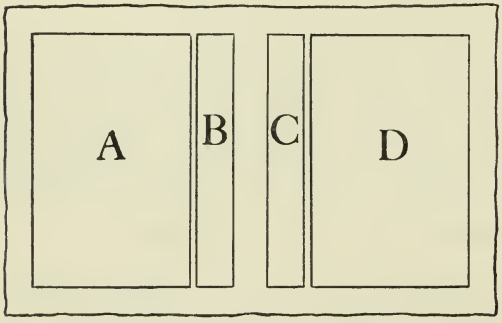


Figure 14.

[1] Alternatively cover may be of half cloth and paper.

pasted and well boned down over central space (B—C). Flaps of cover cloth added if desired to sides of D. A and D then lined with good quality white paper.

The holes for filing [1] are drilled through B and C ; the spaces A—B and C—D forming the joints of the cover. If desired a pair of boards AB and CD may be made separately with no back.

(*f*) *REPAIR of BINDINGS*

Note.—This Appendix makes no attempt to deal with Repair-Binding in general : still less does it cover the repair of bindings of any considerable age or importance ; which should always be treated as individual problems. But the Archivist may sometimes be faced with large quantities of comparatively modern bindings at the stage *where backs, and possibly corners, have gone but sewing is still good.* Here both economy and Archive propriety [2] will point to his doing the smallest amount which will ensure that deterioration does not go further and endanger the interior of the volume. The following four specifications may be useful as indicating the lines along which such problems may be solved. It will be observed that no new lettering is done, the Archivist relying on his reference labels : but all old lettering pieces, stamps, etc., should be saved and pasted inside front board or on end sheet.

By way of contrast we give (Number v) some examples (being descriptions of four pieces of work actually carried out recently) of the kind of repair which may be necessary upon a volume of importance, and of the note which the Archivist should insert to shew what he has done.

(i) *Volumes (foolscap size), whole-bound in leather with hollow back which has come off : condition otherwise fair.*

Leather on both sides to be stripped to a straight cut about

[1] Note that before filing some extra guards should be added at back to counterbalance the extra thickness caused by overlap of guard and document. If documents to be filed are of different sizes they should be mounted on large guards and knocked up to fore-edge before drilling : surplus guard paper can then be cut off square at the back.

[2] Even the most commonplace of bindings, though it has no intrinsic interest, has potentially some value as evidence of the history of the Archive.

two inches from back : back to be cleaned and re-lined if necessary.

New paper hollow to be formed and over this book to be re-backed with linen buckram coming flush up to cuts on sides : head- and tail-bands to be blocked : end sheets to be cut and lifted to take turn-in of new buckram.

(ii) *Volumes (foolscap size or larger), half-bound in calf and paper : backs broken off at joints : condition otherwise fair.*

Old calf to be stripped from back and sides, but not from corners : where clothings are not adhering properly they are to be raised with folding-stick and glued down : where sewing is weak and clothings have perished back to be cleaned and a piece of stout calico to be *pasted* right along it.

New spring back to be made, of best mill wrapping-paper and mill-board, and drawn on with new linen buckram back : head and tail to be set in usual stationery style : end sheets to be cut and lifted for turn-in of new buckram.

(iii) *Volumes (large folio), half-bound in calf and paper or whole bound in calf : some over-cast sections :* [1] *backs off and corners broken.*

Back to be cleaned off and re-lined : new rolled hollow (*not* spring) of paper strengthened with thin mill-board to be formed : head and tail to be reinforced by strip of linen extending over back and on to boards : corners to be hardened by gluing and hammering down.

Volume to be half-bound in linen buckram and best quality *smooth* brown paper : new half end-sheets, with hinge, of heavy quality white paper.

(iv) *Volumes (large folio) ; flexibly sewn, two or three on : bands broken at joints and boards detached : sewing good.*

Old binding to be removed down to the sewing and new end papers pasted on : back to be cleaned off *with paste* and when it is dry piece of stout calico or linen to be pasted over it, overlapping on to end papers.

[1] This precludes use of a spring back.

Volume is then preserved in leather-board box : without boards, but with specimen of leather inserted, or with one of the old boards enclosed in a separate folder.

(v) *Examples of actual Re-Bindings*

[1] *Duchy of Lancaster : Great Cowcher.*

This volume was originally sewn on seven double bands : and the prominence of the kettle-stitch hole suggests that the head- and tail-bands were worked on as part of the sewing. At a later date it was re-sewn flexibly on five cords and whole-bound in tooled calf with silver clasps, at which time presumably the old boards disappeared : the silver mark suggests that this was done about 1721. At a yet later date the volume was re-backed, with an added hollow having six dummy bands on it.

It has now been re-sewn in the first form (seven bands), laced on to boards of old oak, half-bound in vegetable-tanned calf, and enclosed in a box. The eighteenth-century cover, lettering pieces, and clasps, and the nineteenth-century back, are in a case in the same box. New parchment end-sheets.

[2] *Register of the Bishop of Chichester (16th century).*

The original sewing of this volume has been strengthened by tapes sewn over the original double bands, which had broken at the joints. These tapes have been laced into oak boards : the front board is new but the back one incorporates portions of both the original boards.

The cover is of vegetable-tanned calf with portions of the two original sides incorporated. The parchment end-sheets are new.

[3] *State Papers, 105/342.*

The original binding of this volume was apparently oriental : see the paper, in envelope annexed, from which the boards were made.

In the re-binding the original style has been reconstituted as nearly as possible, the sewing being, as before, on only three bands : the old leather of the sides has been inlaid in the new, which is native-tanned African goat, stained to darken.

[4] *Grocers' Company* : *Wardens' Accounts* (*1671—1681*).

In this interesting example ten of the original yearly volumes, each consisting of about thirty paper sheets sewn in a single gathering into a limp vellum cover, instead of being bound into a single volume were fastened as they stood by means of twisted parchment or vellum tackets to a vellum case consisting of back and two sides ;[1] of which the second is prolonged into a flap which extends over the fore-edge and on to the front side, where it is fastened with a brass clip.

The case has now been repaired and the tackets, together with the strengthening bands of fourfold parchment, renewed.

APPENDIX IV

SOME ENEMIES OF MANUSCRIPTS

Since this book was first written it has fallen to me to have through my hands a great many thousands of documents, not only Public Records but manuscripts from local or private sources, whose physical state was not what it ought to be ; ranging from the ' unsatisfactory ' to the ' almost ' or (in rare cases—it does not often happen) ' quite beyond repair.' And as the causes which have led to this state are, in my view, essentially simple it seems worth while to summarize them here. I am not dealing now with cases where the use of unsuitable materials results in deterioration from the mere passing of time : this happens only (at any rate in the climatic conditions prevailing in England) to documents of very recent date ; and we have already glanced at the special problems arising in connexion with these. My present point is this. Enough documents of every kind survive from every date between 1200 and (say) 1870 [2] to prove that, given proper

[1] In another example in the same series the yearly volumes were sewn, as they stood, on to parchment bands which were led in the conventional way through holes in the vellum case ; to which they were also attached by tackets.

[2] I am speaking here only of the materials on which the writing is done : the use of unsuitable materials in the make-up of documents (particularly, unsuitable leather) begins rather earlier.

protection, the parchment, vellum and paper of our ancestors should (allowing for fair wear and tear) have reached us ' as good as new ' : but in an enormous number of cases they have not. Why is this ? What is the protection they have lacked ?

An unfair amount of wear resulting from unsuitable forms of make-up—holes or breaks caused by double folding ; undue strain on stitches owing to the choice of a wrong binding form ; corrosion by metal pins ; the tearing of large papers or parchments clumsily filed or parcelled ; and so forth—this is, of course, responsible for a large amount of the work which passes through a repairer's hands : and we have endeavoured in earlier sections [1] to provide for its prevention or cure. But large as is the extent of the damage which has been done in these ways in the past my own conclusion is that it is small compared with the ravages of certain natural enemies [2] to which the carelessness or ignorance of custodians has exposed (and still does expose) documentary collections. Enormously the most frequent and most destructive of these is fungus, which is responsible for most of the tattered parchments I have seen : but we have to reckon also with bacterial destruction and with insect pests.

Taking these in the reverse order. *Insect Pests* are not so frequent in England as to necessitate, for instance, the use of an infusion of poison [3] in the paste, etc., used in our repositories : there are obvious objections to such a practice, though no doubt in certain parts of the world the prevalence of the danger justifies it. On the other hand our documents are from time to time attacked by various kinds of burrowing *larvae* and the Archivist should be prepared to deal with these. The most

[1] See above Part II, §5.

[2] I exclude mice and rats because we have already referred to them and because though their destructive activities in the past have been very great they are now a danger which is normally well recognized and provided for. At the same time the Archivist (especially if he has under his charge parchments, which provide them with food as well as home) should not allow himself to feel too secure. It is extraordinarily difficult (if not impossible) to be sure of excluding them : and two or three mice, once they are in, may remain undetected for a very long time and do enormous damage. All custodians should accustom themselves to have an eye for their traces—excrement, small scraps of bitten paper or parchment, and foot marks.

[3] Corrosive Sublimate is usually recommended.

important noted up to date [1] are the varieties of the powder-post beetle (*Lyctus*),[2] the common furniture beetle (*Anobium*),[2] and the death-watch beetle (*Xestobium*) [2] : to which must be added the larvae of the common ' clothes ' and ' house ' moths (*Borkhausenia pseudospretella*, etc.).[3] The range of activity of the wood-mining insects varies ; some confining themselves (it is said) to the sapwood in certain hard woods, whereas others (varieties of *anobium*, for example) will apparently attack anything. For the Archivist points of danger are obviously the wooden boards of early bindings, wood forming part of any boxes or containers, and (if he uses them) wooden shelves. The readiest means of detection are the little piles of dust which drop from the holes made by the insects : though it might be remarked that detection here takes place at rather a late stage.

How is the Archivist to meet these dangers ? The obvious precaution is to exclude wood from the Repository altogether. If this is judged impossible or extreme (we have ourselves admitted teak for shelving in the previous appendix) the Archivist must recognize the necessity for careful supervision of the variety and quality [4] of the wood employed and a regular look out for the signs of ' worm.' He must also (if it may be said without offence) be a little cautious in accepting the assurances of the expert as to the particular and exclusive diet of any given variety of ' beetle ' : obviously the ' book-worm ' (a name which probably covers the operations of several varieties) [5] must have turned at some time from wood to paper or parchment and there is evidence that he has liked the

[1] On wood-mining insects in general see *Department of Scientific and Industrial Research* (*Forest Products Research*), *Bulletin No.* 16, and *Furniture Beetles, their Life-History and how to check or prevent the Damage caused by the Worm* (British Museum (Natural History) Economic Series No. 11).

[2] On these three species in particular see *Department of Scientific and Industrial Research* (*Forest Products Research*), *Leaflet No.* 3 (November 1935), *Leaflet No.* 8 (August 1935) and *Leaflet No.* 4 (December 1933).

[3] On this subject see *Clothes Moths and House Moths, their Life-History, Habits and Control* (British Museum (Natural History) Economic Series No. 14).

[4] Sapwood seems to be uncomfortably common in the oak stocked by modern timber-yards : and owing to the disuse of quartering it may occur on both edges of a plank, and even in the centre.

[5] The worst is said to be *anobium paniceum.*

change : both materials contain, in fact, in the shape of size, what is probably a suitable food for many of these larvae.

In his choice of methods for dealing with the pests when precautions for their exclusion have proved inadequate the Archivist is limited by the nature of his materials : he obviously cannot use heat nor, in general, a liquid application.[1] Remain the possibilities of vaporization [2] and various materials have been suggested.[3] In regard to these it must be clearly stated that we have at present (at most) only laboratory tests to assure us that they will have no undesirable result at some future date on the materials exposed to them. With this reservation English opinion is at present recommending the use of para-dichlorbenzene crystals [4] in the proportion of one pound per ten cubic feet. The crystals may be laid at the bottom of a large box and the volumes etc. placed on a grating above them : the box is then kept closed (all joints being carefully sealed with vaseline or some other luting) for not less than ten days.

This treatment can be used also to deal with the larvae of moths : whose ravages, especially on leather, are not perhaps of frequent occurrence but are particularly frightening when they do happen.[5]

Decay of writing materials due to *bacterial action* has been very little investigated : and conditions, nowadays, should not be such as to produce it. For both reasons we shall say little on the subject : but in the case of parchment or vellum documents which have been actually immersed in water a state may be set up in which all the layers of the material combine to form a lump of solid glue. Parts thus affected are

[1] For wood which must if possible be retained (e. g. the boards of old books) a thorough soaking with ordinary natural turpentine is recommended.

[2] At the Huntington Library a device is used which combines a vacuum treatment with ' carboxide ' vaporization (see T. M. Iiams in *The Library Quarterly* II, p. 375 : 1932). But this procedure, though no doubt admirably effective, could hardly be applied universally in a large repository and involves a special installation.

[3] See the works already cited.

[4] Laboratory tests have failed to shew any deterioration in ancient or modern paper, parchment, vellum, cloth or leather exposed to this vapour.

[5] If it once obtains an entry this variety seems to multiply very easily and quickly : it lurks between the folds of leather, and loose covers to books make a particularly good home for it.

of no further use and as the mischief, once started, may apparently go on slowly spreading for a very long time they should be broken off and the remaining edges thoroughly cleaned and dried. Parchments which have been soaked should be opened out as soon as possible and left to dry naturally (*not* by means of artificial heat). Paper documents, it may be noted, after immersion for a considerable time are often very little the worse except for loss of size ; which can easily be made good : unless, of course, they have been left wet and fungus has supervened.

So we come to the question of *Mildew*. Although the various fungi [1] which pass under this name have been the subject of a good deal of writing, little investigation has been made from the point of view of the Archivist or Librarian. The subject, however, is a very important one. My own belief is that a state of mildew very frequently happens without the custodian being aware of it : often the growth, though wide spread, does not develop to a size which forces itself upon the attention and indeed it is possible for documents of all kinds—even books of dark colour—to be badly infected without anything being visible unless the surface is tilted to catch the light in a particular way. The growth may then die away without anything being perceptible for (perhaps) a long time : but the mischief has been done and presently the spots where the fungus has eaten away the size and weakened the fibres will discolour or, if the mischief has gone deep, drop away : in a bad case the spots may be confluent and almost the whole document fall to dust. I believe there is no collection of any size and age in this country without specimens, very often numerous specimens, of damage of this kind.

What facts, then, can be established about mildew which will enable us to combat it ? Considerable research [2] some years ago took the form of investigating the temperature and

[1] One of the most usual in England is apparently a variety of *Penicillium—P. Chrysogenum* Thom. See an article by Percy Groom and Thérèse Panisset in *Annals of Applied Biology*, xx (1933), p. 633.

[2] See the article cited above.

relative humidity at which, in England, fungus could be made to grow on any of the materials normally occurring in Archives or their make-up : and though it cannot be said that final results were reached it is possible to make some definite statements. In the first place the spores are normally air-borne, from which it follows that precaution in the way of sterilizing paste etc. are of little value. Secondly it seems to be established that the spores will not germinate at a lower relative humidity than 62 per cent. We may pause here to note that the obvious expedient—that of maintaining a constant 62 per cent. humidity—is not feasible without a very elaborate system of ' conditioned ' air. On the other hand the Archivist can at little cost instal a recording hygrometer [1] and become, at least, aware of seasons of special danger ; and unless he is a meteorologist the results will probably surprise him : he will discover that a fine day is not necessarily the time for airing a cold repository. It should be remembered in this connexion that paper and parchment are extremely hygroscopic ; and that they do not get rid of humidity as quickly as they absorb it.

But there is another point to be noticed. It appears that mildew will not normally germinate in disturbed air [2] : and the obvious corollary is that if we can disturb the air constantly, everywhere, leaving no ' pockets ' of stagnant air, we shall arrest the trouble : recent experiment has therefore been in the direction of trying not only to keep the air in the repository somewhere near the safety point of humidity but also to keep it constantly in movement. Whether this will be completely successful cannot be determined in a short time but so far results have been encouraging. The exact plan adopted must naturally be determined by local circumstances [3] but to begin

[1] and a psychrometer for testing purposes.

[2] A favourable place for its growth is between two neighbouring books on a shelf.

[3] One method in use at the Record Office is that of linked rooms : the air being driven from one room to another by a fan placed high in the party wall and returning through holes in the lower part. If pairs of rooms thus linked are again linked with each other by further holes placed at different levels the movement of the air will be forced into a multitude of different paths : the only ' pockets ' should in fact be on one side of the first and last in a series of connected rooms.

with passage for air must be provided for by the pattern and material used for shelving, racking and mezzanine floors (see App. III) : after this it is a question of introducing electric fans to disturb the air and adjusting the directions in which it is driven in such a way that no corner is left undisturbed.

A final question is the possibility of re-inforcing the work of ' conditioned ' or ' disturbed ' air by means of fungicides which will sterilize the documents. That most recommended is the vapour given off by thymol crystals when subjected to gentle warmth. The only thing to be said against this is that its complete harmlessness to materials has not been proved : it has in fact at times a softening effect on vellum,[1] size and glue the reason for which has not, I believe, been explained. But the use of a thymolized duster can do little harm.[2]

APPENDIX V

ARCHIVE HISTORY : AN ILLUSTRATION

Note to New Edition.

Except for one or two verbal corrections this Appendix is re-printed in its original form. Comparatively little has been published since 1922 specially concerning the Receipt but important articles, etc., by Miss M. H. Mills [3] and Mr. A. B. Steel [4] should be noted.

We have attempted in this Appendix to supply illustration of a number of points which have been dealt with in the text. One Archive Group—the *Exchequer of Receipt*, whose Archives extend from the twelfth century to 1834—has been chosen

[1] Vellum bindings in contact with heavily thymolized paper became, very alarmingly, covered with a sticky exudation. This case was an example of the way in which practical experience may produce conditions which the laboratory has failed to anticipate.

[2] A thymolizing cabinet can be made of a large iron box with a tray of the crystals at the bottom, and below this an ordinary electric light to supply the necessary warmth. By lifting the lid and using an electric fan, one can of course thymolize the air of a room with this cabinet.

[3] See particularly Surrey Record Society, Number xxi, 1924.

[4] See *English Historical Review*, xlvii (1932), p. 204; and other articles there cited.

because of its comparative simplicity—now—and because of its peculiar aptitude for the purpose. Its Archives—none of them much and the bulk of them not at all explored up to the present, although they include series of the first importance for historians of all periods—afford as fine examples as could be obtained anywhere of the use of Administrative History as a key to the arrangement and comprehension of Archives, of the explanatory notes required in an Archive Inventory, and (most important of all) of the misadventures to which Archives in all ages and countries are liable, especially during the processes of sorting and classification.

Now the questions of *Listing*, *Arrangement*, and *Classification* form the very corner-stone of Archive Science ; no trouble is too great to get them truly settled. Yet it is, and probably always will be, a popular belief that sorting, listing, and indexing are mechanical processes which any one can with little or no preparation easily master ; it is a tradition that a prominent politician once seriously suggested that the whole of the legal and other Archives of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries in England might be arranged on a system based on the requirements of persons interested in the life of Shakespeare by sorters imported from the General Post Office. This is, no doubt, an extreme case ; but the fact remains that the dangers attendant on anything but the most carefully directed system of classification and the fact that damage done in half an hour may require months of re-adjustment or even turn out to be irreparable, are things which it has proved in the past extraordinarily difficult for Archivists and others to see.

It is mainly for this reason that we have set down some account of what past generations (some of them not very far back) did with the Archives of the *Receipt*. Here we may see examples of nearly all the Archive mistakes that have ever been made, not only in ancient but in modern times ; indeed, Archivists in America and those interested in the fate of Records produced under modern conditions in England or elsewhere will find close parallels to observations they may themselves

make in the course of their work. The crowding out of the more ancient Archives in a collection in order to make room for new ones, and their bestowal in unsuitable places ; the rapid disappearance of traditional knowledge of the meaning and value of anything except current series ; the hasty arrangement of newly-discovered Archive treasures after a fashion which temporarily satisfies the Historian of the day, at the cost of confusion and loss to the Archives themselves and ultimately to all students—all these are troubles which are liable to occur at any time, which are occurring now in some places. In the case of the *Exchequer of Receipt*, though much of the damage occurred so late as in the nineteenth century, we are yet sufficiently far away from it now to judge of its effects.

(i) Archive History of the Exchequer of Receipt.

(*a*) *Origin, Functions and earliest Archives.* This Department, as its name implies, was charged with the simplest of financial functions, the taking in and issuing of the King's Treasure. The Receipt when it took in money gave a portion (the stock) of a wooden tally to the person who had paid, keeping the other part (the foil) itself ; and when it paid out it kept the King's writ which had authorized the payment. These foils and *brevia* were its Archives, and could be produced for the satisfaction either of itself or of the *Scaccarium* at times of audit.[1]

(*b*) *The Receipt Roll.* The requirements of the scribes of the Pipe Roll (the main record of the *Scaccarium*), and later their own convenience, led the officials of the Receipt gradually to institute a Receipt Roll [2] upon which they copied the inscriptions from their tallies. Beginning with a very simple and partial roll modelled on Pipe Roll precedents, such as one which has survived belonging to the year 1185,[3] they reached a fixed form,[4] in which receipts are arranged under counties, the total sum of each of these being cast up at the foot, in 4 Henry III. The Receipt Roll is now purely a document made for the benefit of the Officials of the Receipt ; and in consequence it is speedily found (21 Henry III) that a more convenient form is that of a roll on which tallies are entered in single column

[1] For the early history of the Exchequer and the Receipt see the Introduction to the Oxford edition of the *Dialogus* (by Messrs. Hughes, Crump and Johnson) ; Dr. R. L. Poole's *The Exchequer in the Twelfth Century* ; and articles on *Exchequer Tallies* in *Archaeologia* (lxii and lxxiv), and on the *Financial Records of the Reign of King John* in the Royal Historical Society's *Magna Carta Commemoration* volume.

[2] The early forms of this roll are dealt with in an article on *Records of Receipts from the English Jewry* in the *Transactions* of the Jewish Historical Society of England, viii, p. 19 ; see also the article in *Archaeologia*, lxxiv, cited above.

[3] Published in facsimile by the London School of Economics (ed. Hubert Hall).

[4] *Receipt Rolls*, 3.

in chronological order as they are made out, counties being added in the margin.[1]

(*c*) *The Liberate Roll.* Meanwhile the usefulness of an enrolment of some or all of the other class of originals preserved in the department, the writs ordering issue from the Treasury (*brevia de liberate*), had also been adopted, giving us the Exchequer series of *Liberate Rolls.* So closely were the two operations of Receipt and Issue connected that for a time these *Liberate Rolls* were sewn up with the *Receipt Rolls*, as in the first surviving example.[2] These rolls, under a great variety of titles, show also a certain variety of form, and we may even get two for a single period which are not exactly the same, one perhaps including writs for recurring payments such as salaries (*brevia currentia* or *patentia*), while others contain only those which have been fully paid off (*brevia persoluta*). The latter form finally triumphs.[3]

(*d*) *The Issue Roll.* Concurrently with the *Liberate Roll* there arose a simplified form of it in which the formal parts of the writ were omitted, leaving only the name of the payee, cause of payment, and amount. The first of these to survive is a single-columned roll of 25 Henry III,[4] arranged chronologically and with day dates sometimes given. This form continued till 33 Edward I,[5] but in addition to it, to meet the case where payments on a single large writ were spread over a long time, there arose a double-columned form in which after an entry of the name of a payee space was left for the addition of further instalments : as the single-columned roll followed the contemporary form of *Liberate* in including only those writs which were *persoluta*, it will be seen that the same payments might appear in the double-columned roll of one term and the single-columned one of the next. This double-columned form, which begins by being no more than a draft in 38 Henry III,[6] was apparently found more convenient at a time when detailed expenditure was largely in the hands of the wardrobe[7] : it became for a time the only roll kept, till quite suddenly (19 Edward II) a single-columned roll,[8] arranged like the receipt roll under day, dates, and months, completely ousted it.

(*e*) *Differentiations.* We have thus by the beginning of the reign of Edward I, and the end of that of Edward II respectively, fully developed

[1] *Receipt Rolls*, 12. [2] *Ibid.* 3.

[3] We have a set from 1 to 19 Edward I, and another beginning 30 Edward I.

[4] *Issue Rolls*, 1. [5] *Ibid.* 127.

[6] *Ibid.* 8. It reaches a more regular form about 3 Edward I (*Issue Rolls*, 26) and a final one by a gradual improvement on this.

[7] Cp. Tout, *Administrative History*, vol. ii, chapters vii and viii.

[8] *Issue Rolls*, 218. Two fine specimens of rolls of this kind for 44 Edward III were printed in an English translation by F. Devon (*Issue Roll of Thomas de Brantingham . . . . .* London, 1835) : Devon also published two volumes of selections from medieval and seventeenth-century Issue Rolls. It is perhaps worth noticing that the second of the two rolls printed by him is not Brantingham's but belonged to one of the Chamberlains : also that it begins in the year 1369 and should come first—the Exchequer year of Edward III started before the regnal year.

forms of *Receipt Roll* and *Issue Roll* at the Receipt. Meanwhile the possibility of differentiation of particular classes of entry had been illustrated from time to time by such classes as those of the Special *Jewish Receipt Rolls*, *Taxation Receipt Rolls*, and so forth.[1]

(*f*) *The Triplicate Arrangement.* A more striking development was that of the increase in the number of copies made. Early in the reign of Edward I, when the *Receipt Roll* was established in its final form while the *Issue Roll* was still being made up in two forms simultaneously, traces appear of an arrangement by which each of these rolls was made up at least in duplicate ; so that we get in each of the two Exchequer terms four *Issue* and two *Receipt Rolls*—twelve in all in the year. The Receipt was presided over from the earliest times by the Treasurer and the two Chamberlains or their deputies (known as the Chamberlains of the Receipt), and the names of these Chamberlains are now associated with the various rolls. Either this is a fragmentary survival of, or it soon gave way to, a system of triplicate rolls,[2] one for each of the three officials we have mentioned, whose name written at the head or on the back generally distinguishes his roll. Any additional rolls there might be (Jewish ones,[3] for instance) were made in the same extravagant quantities. Except for the institution for a short time of a fourth *Issue Roll* [4] (which may indicate the emergence into fuller authority of the Treasurer's Clerk, afterwards a most important official), the triplicate, though not, as we shall see, always kept up, remains for nearly three centuries the accepted form.

(*g*) *Further Developments.* A further development resulted from the wide development of the use of Tallies for the purpose of Assignments.[5] Outwardly this affected our *Receipt* and *Issue Rolls* by the notes,[6] cancellations, and so forth which it caused in them. It also gave new importance

[1] The nature of Issue Rolls did not lend itself so readily to this process in medieval times, but there are a few examples of rolls of ear-marked issues (e. g. *Issue Rolls*, Nos. 1310 to 1315) : after the institution of Exchequer Annuities, however, in the reign of William III, large numbers of special *Issue Rolls* had to be made (*Issue Rolls* 1330 to 1692), to the annoyance of the Clerk of the Pells (see his report, cited below, to the Special Committee of 1800). The Special Taxation *Receipt Rolls* run from 19 Edward I to 11 Edward III (*Receipt Rolls*, Nos. 1611 to 1745).

[2] There are triplicate rolls for the Easter term of 22 Edward I (*Issue Rolls* 87 to 89 and *Receipt Rolls* 129 to 131) : and we learn by a note on a *Receipt Roll* (No. 137) that in 23 Edward I there were three rolls, one for the Baron of the Exchequer who was then representing the Treasurer and two *in nomine Camerariorum.*

[3] These run from 14 John to 23 Edward I, among the Archives of the Receipt, but there are others belonging to the same series among those of the *Exchequer, King's Remembrancer's*, and *Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer's* departments : see the article on this subject, quoted above.

[4] Called *Protecolla of the Treasurer* : 28 to 38 Edward III (*Issue Rolls*, Nos. 1289 to 1304).

[5] Cf. *Archaeologia*, loc. cit. ; and *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, second series, xxv, p. 34.

[6] Reflecting what are known as the *pro* and *sol* variations of tallies.

to the Tellers (*Numeratores*),[1] who were concerned with the actual handling of money, and to a class of documents the first set of which were probably,[2] and the second certainly, made by those officials. These are the *Jornalia Rolls* (21 Edward I to 10 Edward II), giving a daily and weekly 'state of the Treasury' and balances;[3] and a hundred years later the similar Tellers' Rolls and Tellers' Books (Henry IV to Elizabeth), which probably mark the beginning of the rise of those officials to the importance which they finally enjoyed under the reforms of Henry VII.

(*h*) *Final Form.* With the Original Tallies [4] and Original Writs [5] on files, the *Receipt Rolls* (ordinary and supplementary), the *Liberate* and *Issue Rolls*, the *Jornalia* and *Tellers' Rolls*, Rolls of *Tallie Innovate* [6] (tallies which for any reason had to be renewed), and a certain amount of the usual *Miscellanea*, we have the whole body of the medieval Archives of the Exchequer of Receipt. As they stand in this arrangement and in their present order at the Public Record Office they are, on the surface at any rate, a simple matter enough. Let us continue their history a little further.

(*i*) *The Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries.* The *Issue Rolls*, dwindling in importance as payments out of the Exchequer became more and more a matter of assignments by Tally (figuring therefore on the so-called *Receipt Roll*), appear to have ceased altogether during the reign of Edward IV. The *Receipt Roll* never lapsed, and up to about the tenth year of Elizabeth retained, though irregularly, some traces of the Triplicate arrangement. Fanshawe, himself an Exchequer Official, writing in that period, tells us [7] 'the Comptrollers [8] of the Pell [9] be the two Chamberlains' Clarks that should

[1] These officials are not mentioned in the *Dialogus*: Madox quotes a reference to them in 9 Henry III (*History of the Exchequer*, Chap. xxiv, Section 14).

[2] One or two bear an ascription to one or other of the Chamberlains and they appear to be kept normally in triplicate; but their close connexion with the Tellers is evidenced by a note in one of them (E. 405/1/15), *Hic obiit Elyas de Aylesbir' qui fuit numerator Recepte.*

[3] The balances are given by a smaller roll attached to it, called the *Billa Remanentis.*

[4] Nearly all of these were deliberately destroyed in 1834, when the 'immoderate burning' of them in the stoves used to heat the House of Lords caused the burning of the Houses of Parliament. A few hundreds (practically all returned stocks) which had somehow been stored in the Chapel of the Pyx at Westminster have been discovered in recent years (*Archaeologia*, loc. cit.).

[5] A fragmentary series survives, including the Henry II writ printed by Madox (*History of the Exchequer*, ch. x, section 13, note): the series contains hardly any of the original files.

[6] The procedure in connexion with lost tallies dates from the Statute of Rhuddlan, 14 Edward I: cf. Ryley, *Pleadings in Parliament*, p. 450.

[7] Sir T. F., *The Practice of the Exchequer Court . . .* (London, 1658), pp. 112, 113. The book was written much earlier than it was printed.

[8] i. e. Keepers of the Counter Rolls.

[9] i. e. the *Receipt Roll.* The word *Pellis* (skin) is used both of this (*Pellis Recepte*) and the *Issue Roll* (*Pellis Exitus*); whence the name Clerk of the Pells. After the medieval

either of them keep a controlment of the Pell . . . which now here be sometimes kept, and sometimes not. . . . They were wont also in ancient time, either of them to keep a like controllment of the sayd Pell of Issues . . . which these many years was not kept by them'. The same author tells us [1] that the Clerk of the Pells (who represents the Treasurer's Clerk of earlier times) 'keepeth the Pelle in Parchment, called Pellis Recepti wherein he entreth every Tellers . . . parchment Bill . . . which (as I learn) now is made in a paper book and hath been begun but of late days to keep the Pelle fair and from razing'; and again [2] 'he also in old time kept . . . the *Pellis Exitus* which of late was received [3] to be kept by him . . . and thought very necessary but now since (as I learn) it is layd down again as thought not so necessary'. The Teller's Bill is merely an extra stage in the production of the Tally [4] and the Paper Book referred to the *Receipt Book* which duplicates the Receipt Roll; and the statement with regard to the Issue Roll is confirmed by certain papers in the *Miscellanea* of the Receipt [5] and others in the Lansdowne MSS. at the British Museum,[6] and by the Rolls themselves. The series was revived first for a few years in 9 Elizabeth, and then more permanently in 39 Elizabeth. After this we have a more or less continuous single series of both Receipt and Issue Rolls up to modern times, kept by the Clerk of the Pells. This official, now independent, represented originally, as we have seen, the Treasurer: the two Chamberlains of the Receipt disappear after the medieval period from the functions in which we are here interested, except that they retain a (doubtless lucrative) ceremonial part in the most ancient of all, the cutting of the Tallies, until Tallies cease to be in the nineteenth century.[7]

(*j*) *New Classes of Archives at the Receipt.* Henry VII had instituted sweeping reforms at the Exchequer of Receipt: the result of these, and of the even greater changes which followed the putting of the office of Treasurer into Commission (first in 1612 and permanently in 1714), the institution of the Treasury Board, and the final separation of the Treasury from the Exchequer in the time of Charles II,[8] may be seen in many new Archive series at the Exchequer of Receipt: Account Books, Assignment Books, Cash Books, Certificate Books, these and some thirty more distinct series (some of them in duplicate) date all from after the medieval period.

(*k*) *The Clerk of the Pells and the Auditor of the Receipt.* With these later

period the word is used particularly to distinguish the parchment rolls of the older administration from the paper books of the new.

[1] Sir T. F., *op. cit.*, p. 112. [2] *Ibid.*, pp. 112, 113.

[3] Apparently a printer's error for 'revived'.

[4] See an account of seventeenth-century procedure in *L. T. R. Miscellaneous Books* 117, cited in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, loc. cit.

[5] E. 407/71. These papers are referred to again below.

[6] Especially in Lansdowne MSS., 151 (f. 103) and 171 (ff. 308 and 353–8).

[7] The abolition of the old system was delayed until the then holders of these two offices should die or retire from them (see *Archaeologia*, lxii, loc. cit.). For the work of the Chamberlains at the seventeenth century 'Tally Court', see *Proc. Soc. Antiq.*, loc. cit.

[8] See Royal Commission, *Second Report* I, p. 25, and the authorities there quoted.

Archives we should here be little concerned, for our purpose is merely to trace the Archive history of the earlier classes, which comprehended in medieval times the whole business of the Receipt. The later Archives introduce us, however, to an element of confusion in the shape of a new distinction between the Archives of the Clerk of the Pells, whom we know, and those of a post-medieval official, the Auditor of the Receipt. These two quarrelled for precedence in the sixteenth century and though this quarrel was settled [1] in the end in favour of the Clerk of the Pells, the other official, who represented the old *Scriptor Talliarum* (another Treasurer's clerk), emerged with the definite function of *entering* and *enrolling* many of the proceedings which the Clerk of the Pells *recorded*. The Clerk of the Pells then, after 1597, centred in himself the whole of the old functions which originally he shared with the two Chamberlains' Deputies ; but shared the newer functions with the Auditor : the older Archives therefore are at first single, then triplicate, and later single again ; while the newer ones are in many cases duplicate throughout.

(*l*) *The Receipt Archives in the Nineteenth Century.* Of all this the early nineteenth century knew nothing ; and the student who endeavoured about 1860, when the ancient Archives of the Receipt were thrown open to inspection, to find his way about these most important collections by way of the available lists was involved in an amazing labyrinth. To begin with, there were not only the most tantalizing gaps, extending over perhaps a number of years, but these would be emphasized from time to time by the discovery that other years seemed to possess a plethora of rolls. These, when examined, might prove to be wrongly described—it was by no means unusual for the ascription to be a century or so out in date—or they might be duplicates, or fragments ; or he might find two rolls each apparently complete and covering to some extent the same period, but beginning or ending at different dates ; [2] or the *Receipt Roll* might prove to be an *Issue Roll* or *vice versa* ; or he might meet with a roll described as *Receipt* or *Issue* which was really what we know now as a *Tallie Innovate Roll* or *Jornalia* ; or in the midst of a fairly continuous series of ordinary *Receipt Rolls* come upon special *Jewish* or *Taxation Rolls*. Worst of all, the rolls, both of *Receipt* and *Issue*, were divided into two classes labelled *Pells* and *Auditors*. Apparently this meant something : if the historian pursued his researches into the later Archives of the Department he would find these labels applied to series which did appear to be distinct sets with a definite relationship. But among the *Receipt* and *Issue Rolls* they could not be made to show any meaning at all ; for sometimes the *Pells* set would include triplicate rolls for a single period for which the *Auditors* set had none, sometimes the position would be reversed, sometimes the Rolls would be divided in one proportion or another between the two ; and finally the *Auditors* series ceased altogether, the *Issue Rolls* in the reign of Edward IV and the *Receipt Rolls* in that of Elizabeth. Our student's confusion would

[1] By a decision of Lord Burleigh, see below, paragraph (*q*), footnote.

[2] When a new Deputy Chamberlain or Treasurer took up his duties it was customary for him to begin a new roll.

be even worse confounded if he delved so deep as to discover cases where rolls had been transferred from *Pells* series to *Auditors* or *vice versa* ; for there was no reason that any one could see for these transfers. In fine the tangle seemed hopeless ; and yet until it was unravelled no one could be sure that he was appreciating properly the value of the Rolls he used.

If he had the fortune to light on a rather scarce book, that of Sir Thomas Fanshawe, which we have already quoted, the inquirer might gain a gleam of light from that author's statement that the two Chamberlains' clerks anciently acted as Controllers to the Clerk of the Pells. ' Here,' he might say, 'is the origin of the *Pells* class : but what of the *Auditors* ? and why does Fanshawe apparently refer to a triplicate series whereas I am confronted by a duplicate one ? and anyhow, where has the duplicate one come from ? or where has the triplicate one gone to ? because up to now, in all the Reports that I can find, from 1718 to 1841, I see no trace of anything but a single one ? Moreover, if this division into *Auditors* and *Pells* series is correct, as I suppose it is, why do *Auditor's Receipt* and *Issue Rolls* stop short, while all the rest of the Auditor's records continue up to the nineteenth century ? ' And so forth.

(*m*) *The first attempt at arrangement* : *Westminster, Whitehall, and Somerset House.* To appreciate fully the difficulty of the situation we must glance at the history of our Archives during the period immediately preceding the appearance of this remarkable list. Our imaginary student would probably turn in the first place to Devon's volume of *Issue Rolls*, which incidentally would puzzle him with a seventeenth-century list from the British Museum [1] showing a single set of Receipt Archives at the Pells Office. It would introduce him to the *Report of the Lords Committees*,[2] in which he would find that Madox, the great historian of the Exchequer, had been able to contribute little information as to the Receipt beyond a reference to ' important valuable records, that lie in a sort buried ' ; it would also direct him to the *Report* [3] of the Special Committee of the House of Commons on the Cottonian Library, where again little information is to be obtained. Turning to the ordinary sources for the Archive History of the Public Records (the *Reports* of the Record Commission (1800 to 1837) and of the Special Committees of 1800 and 1837 and later those of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records), he would find that the Controller General, to whom Devon dedicated his book, had possession of the functions and Archives of the Exchequer of Receipt from 1834, when the Statute [4]

[1] British Museum, *Lansdowne MSS.*, 254 : a seventeenth-century document to which we refer again below. It is curious that Devon, who no doubt used the Record Commission Catalogue of these MSS., did not come across the note on the Receipt by Sir Vincent Skinner (151, f. 103), which would have given him the key to its medieval archive arrangement ; he might also have got a hint from Agarde's *Compendium*, printed by Palgrave, *Antient Kalendars*, II, p. 311, in 1836.

[2] London, 1718.

[3] *Reports from Special Committees to the House of Commons*, vol. i, 1731. Devon quotes this by error as a Report of the *Record Commission.*

[4] The Statute was of 1783 (5 William and Mary) but could come into force only on the death or retirement of certain persons then holding office. The Controller

abolishing the ancient system of that department came into force. The first mention of the modern handling of our Archives, he would discover, is during this period ; when we find Devon himself dealing with them, first at the Office of the Clerk of the Pells in the Brick Tower at Westminster and then at that of the Controller General in Whitehall, to which they were removed.[1] Devon apparently knew of no division between *Pells* and *Auditors*, but as his lists had disappeared [2] it was rather difficult for the student to know to what rolls he was referring. There remained, it is true, at the end of his Report the table concerning rolls of the reigns of Henry III and Edward I which he had found at the ' Pells ' Office ; but as this shewed, for example, ten *Issue* and *Liberate Rolls* of the year 19 Edward I, whereas the lists of 1859 could produce only nine,[3] of which three were *Auditors Issue Rolls*, two *Pells Issue Rolls*, and four *Liberate Rolls*, this, if anything, deepened the mystery. Hardly more information was available as to a collection of similar rolls found and cursorily inspected by Devon at Somerset House. These were removed under the superintendence of the Controller General's clerk, Mr. Ashburnham Bulley, but of this the ordinary reader would be likely to know little, since the details survive only in a very obscure place.[4] Even when Mr. Bulley's account is discovered it is misleading, since he apparently counted backwards ; describing the rolls as extending *from* the reign of Edward IV, whereas we now know from Devon's list that nearly all the existing rolls subsequent to that date came from the Clerk of the Pells Office.

(*n*) *Removal to the Record Office.* The next person to handle the Rolls after Devon and Bulley was W. H. Black, who in 1841 describes the process of their removal to the Public Record Office.[5] Black evidently knew that he was not dealing with a single series—he speaks of Pells and Counter-Pells [6]—but he has nothing to say about an *Auditors* series of Rolls, though he deals at some length with certain other (genuine) Auditor's Archives which were found in the same vault at Somerset House. Apparently he did little more than sack up the rolls for removal and deposit them in the Record Office, though he records [7] the transfer of three Rolls of Receipts and ten of Issues from the set found in the ' vaults ' (Somerset House) to the set from the Pells Office. Probably he had a shrewd idea that the two represented originally only one collection ; but as, once more, no lists of

General continued three of the series of Exchequer of Receipt documents in use—all comparatively modern ones. On this practice see above, Part II, § 6 (*q*).

[1] Record Commission *Report*, 1837, p. 150 ; cp. the *Report from the Special Committee to the House of Commons*, 1800, p. 131.

[2] Two copies have since been found, one in the British Museum and one in the Class of *Transcripts* at the Public Record Office.

[3] The missing one has been found ultimately among a class of *Miscellaneous Rolls*.

[4] *Communications between the Treasury and the Comptroller General of the Exchequer . . .* (Sessional Papers, House of Lords, 1840, No. 58).

[5] *Reports of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records*, I and II.

[6] Possibly Agarde's *Compendium*, published by Palgrave in 1836, had introduced him to the phrase.

[7] *D. K.'s Reports*, III, App. i, p. 31.

his period survived it is difficult to be certain what his proceedings were. He had, so far as is known, nothing to do with the Rolls after 1842.

(*o*) '*Auditors and Pells*.' After this we hear of nothing regarding these Archives in the Deputy Keeper's *Reports* except for some ticketing, until in 1859 [1] we find set out the mysterious *Auditors and Pells* arrangement in full force. A further report two years later tells us that 265 *Receipt* and *Issue Rolls*, removed from the Chapter House at Westminster,[2] have been intercalated in the *Pells* Series ; but once more no list remains to make identification of these possible.

It might be argued from the above that the *Pells* set represented the Pells Office rolls *plus* those from the Chapter House, while the *Auditors* rolls were those which came from Somerset House ; where indeed they had had for neighbours (as we have seen) certain archives more entitled than themselves to the *Auditors* epithet. The only trouble is that no arithmetic will make the numbers mentioned in the earlier reports fit in with those of the two sets if 1859 : an example of this has already been given in the case of the rolls for the year 19 Edward I.

(*p*) *The Results*. In fine, the lists as they stood were incomprehensible besides being extremely inaccurate, and the task of finding out from external evidence what had occurred seemed hopeless. Actually these Archives had to remain for about fifty years, practically useless for any serious work, before time could be found to reconstruct their correct arrangement as it is set out at the beginning of this section. To do this involved a fresh examination into their Archive history so far as it could be traced, the disregarding, as unworkable, of the arrangement they were under, and the making of an individual examination of between three and four thousand rolls. As many were mutilated [3] or had others wrapped up inside them, or were rolled up the wrong way, with their date heading and the name of the Chamberlain or Treasurer's Clerk to whom they had belonged at the innermost end, the task included in numerous cases that of unrolling and re-rolling documents, sometimes thirty yards or more in length ; beside the identification and dating of misplaced fragments, and the working out from internal evidence only of the relations in which these rolls had stood to each other and to the general business of their department. Even now that this has been done there remain fragments of which the ascription is hopelessly lost, and other items of damage which can never be repaired.

Obviously much of the blame for this extraordinary chapter of mistakes must rest with those who, although they apparently lacked either time

[1] *Ibid.* XX, App., p. 149.

[2] Possibly these had some relation to certain rolls of Jewish Accounts which are still among the MSS. of the Dean and Chapter (Hist. MSS. Commission, *Reports*, i, p. 96).

[3] Cases were not uncommon where two or even three pieces of a single roll appeared under widely different dates, one perhaps among *Pells Receipt Rolls*, one among *Auditors Receipt Rolls*, and one in one of the classes of *Issue Rolls*. At least one incomplete roll is made up of fragments reassembled from five different points.

or ability to investigate the rolls themselves, were prepared to sort them into these two absurd classes. Had they left them as they received them their successors would at any rate not have been burdened with the additional task of disproving and undoing this impossible ' arrangement ', before they could begin a rational reconstruction. Had they even been content to label two of the three collections they received ' Pells ' and the other one 'Auditors,' or at least to leave behind them some record of which rolls had come from which place, some excuse might be found for them. But they were not. It is difficult to imagine anything more ridiculous than the solemn transference of a roll, upon no principle which can be discovered, out of one class which has no reason for its existence outside the mind of its creator into another equally meaningless : yet they sorted, transferred and re-transferred ; and as they did so they obliterated nearly all traces behind them. Perhaps the most remarkable thing is that many of the rolls not only could be, but had been, intelligently described and reasonably arranged : [1] only to be wantonly dispersed, misdescribed, and misplaced under an ' arrangement ' which practically deprived them of meaning for half a century, and rendered useless all the work which had so far been done upon them.

(*q*) *Earlier confusions.* It is not suggested that the authors of the 1859 arrangement are responsible for all the confusion we see in it ; though for the way in which it was dealt with they alone must take the blame. There was, in fact, a remarkable consensus of ignorance in the opening part of the nineteenth century among the officials of the Receipt (who were still supposed to carry on ' the ancient course of the Exchequer ' as laid down in the *Dialogus*) about the early history of their own Office and Archives. Thus in 1800 the Deputy Chamberlains [2] were not aware that their predecessors had accumulated any Archives other than the standard weights, measures, and coins and possibly a few tallies ; while the Deputy Clerk of the Pells (who mentions a tradition that the establishment of the Clerk of the Pells [3] commenced in the time of Alfred) admits having records from 1715 onwards, but remarks that ' the want of space in the Office wherein the principal duties of the Clerk of the Pells are performed has necessarily compelled our predecessors and ourselves when encumbered by the increase of books and the engrossed copies [i. e. the Rolls] hereinbefore described to remove the most antient and useless into the two upper rooms of the tower occupied by the Clerk of the Pells : they are deposited therein, for the most part, without order or method and covered by the lapse of time with dust and dirt. The collections of more than a century, perhaps of two, are in general confusion . . .' ; and this with a large proportion

[1] By Devon : see the citation of his Report above ; from which it is seen that a quite correctly described *Liberate Roll* left that class to reappear as ' *Miscellaneous* '. Black, as appears from his Report in 1841, was well aware of the importance of basing further work on Devon's list.

[2] *Report from the Special Committee to the House of Commons*, 1800, p. 128.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 132. It is curious that this official held the clue, if he had known it, to the whole matter : for he was aware of, and mentions (*ibid.*, p. 131), the controversy between the Clerk of the Pells and the Auditor.

of the medieval Archives of the Exchequer of Receipt, from the thirteenth century downwards, lying somewhere on their premises and in their care ![1] To this description of eighteenth and nineteenth-century Archive-keeping it seems only right to add for completeness some reference,[2] even at the cost of a digression, to Devon's description of the vault at Somerset House, which he entered by means of a ladder at a place 'which was once a window', and Bulley's representations to the Treasury as to the danger and unpleasantness of inhaling the 'decomposed particles and dust' from documents 'damp, mouldering and dirty', out of a vault 'beneath High Water Mark.'

But to revert to the Officials of the Exchequer of Receipt: the Auditor, it is true, appears by the 1800 Report already quoted to have had some knowledge of his own Archives. He enumerates them fairly accurately in series running mostly from the seventeenth century; but has nothing to say about Rolls.

If we look further back we find that general ignorance of the early history of the Receipt and its archives did not begin in the nineteenth century. The 1731 Report, the 1718 Report, and (most striking of all) Madox in his *History of the Exchequer*, all, as we have seen, shew a like ignorance: and in 1741, after 'methodizing' had been in progress at the Treasury of the Receipt for fourteen years, it was possible in a fairly extensive schedule [3] of the Records kept there to omit all mention of those 'Pelles' of which Agarde tells us [4] and of which, as we know, 265 at least came later to the Record Office from that place. It is not till we get back to the period of Agarde, Fanshawe, Skinner, and Wardour,[5] in the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth centuries, that we find a generation of officials familiar with the ancient triplicate arrangement, and the part borne by the Chamberlains of the Receipt in that department's functions: from which it would seem that Devon may have been right in his conjecture [6] that confusion began under the Commonwealth.

Fanshawe's statement as to the Chamberlains' part has already been

[1] As appears from Devon's First Report and from the seventeenth-century list of Rolls at the Pells Office printed by him in his book from the Lansdowne MSS.

[2] See the Sessional Paper, 1840, No. 58, already cited, above (*m*) note 4.

[3] E. 403/2543 (*Pells Patent Book* 32), p. 540, appointment of Richard Morley to 'sort, digest and methodize' the Records in the Court of the Receipt of the Exchequer in succession to John Lawton, appointed 1727, now deceased.

[4] See below.

[5] Of these Arthur Agarde was Deputy Chamberlain; Thomas Fanshawe was King's Remembrancer; Sir Vincent Skinner was Auditor and *Scriptor Talliarum*; and Chidiock Wardour was Clerk of the Pells. All took some part, large or small, in the controversy to which we have so many times alluded.

[6] *Issue Roll of Thomas de Brantingham*, Introduction, p. ix. It is possible however, that a rather later event—the Great Fire in 1666—may be responsible. We learn from an Account (*Audit Office Declared Accounts*, 865) that the Records of the Receipt were on this occasion put in barges and taken to Nonsuch Palace in Surrey: and we may conjecture confusion.

quoted. Skinner, in a statement preserved among the papers of Sir Julius Caesar, gives a full account of the early Receipt and of the reforms of Henry VII there as a preliminary to stating the claims of the Auditor to precedence over the Clerk of the Pells (Wardour), a matter of which another side is seen in the papers preserved at the Receipt.[1] But the most valuable contribution is made by Agarde, who in his *Compendium*[2] (1610) states first that ' Mr. Gidiock Warder keepeth the two Pelles th'one of *Redditus* called *Introitus* and the other of *Exitus* . . . in a rome appoynted for that use nerre the Court of Receipt, a great number from King *Edward the First* untill nowe ' ; then that of the four ' Threasauries ' with which he deals one contained ' Chamberlains Counterpelles ' (a most instructive phrase for any one who would consider it), and another ' Pelles ' from the reign of Edward I to that of Elizabeth ; and finally that the *Innovate Roll* is also there. This, with the Lansdowne MSS. List, shews that in the seventeenth century the Clerk of the Pells (representing the former ' Treasurer's clerk ') was possessed of a single series, and it is tempting to guess that at this time the Rolls which ultimately came to the Public Record Office from the ' Chapter House ' (i. e. those described by Agarde) represented the Chamberlains' parts of what had originally been a single collection. That the collection was single in medieval times is almost certain.[3] It also seems probable that the particular Archives of the Treasurer's Clerk may have been separated off at the time when the Deputy Chamberlains were dropping out of their old connexion with the active work of the department, and he himself, under the title of Clerk of the Pells, was rising to that complete control over the functions represented by the *Receipt* and *Issue Rolls* which he enjoyed in the post-medieval period. That such separation, if or when it occurred, was not too carefully performed would seem to be indicated by the fact that Devon found among his Archives a Norman Pipe Roll ; which might properly belong to the Archives of the Treasury of the Receipt but had certainly nothing to do with the Clerk of the Pells. It is curious that, though the Pells Office contained rolls of Henry III's reign, one of them, that for the ninth year, remained at the Treasury of the Receipt where Madox saw it.[4] Another curious point is that the *Lansdowne MSS.* List of the Pells Office Rolls

[1] *Exchequer of Receipt, Miscellaneous Papers*, and *Lansdowne MSS.* already quoted (above, paragraph (i)). The dispute was apparently settled in 1583 by Lord Burleigh in favour of the Clerk of the Pells, in a privy seal warrant which is quoted by Black (*D. K.'s Reports*, iv, ii, p. 179) from one of several copies (another is among the Caesar MSS.) ; but it seems to have been raised again by Skinner about 1606 (Lansdowne MSS. 171, ff. 103, 353, and 358).

[2] Palgrave, vol. ii, pp. 311 *et seq.*

[3] Among the evidences for this is the statement in a contemporary hand outside an *Issue Roll* of the reign of Edward I (No. 170), that with it are included two *Receipt Rolls* and an *Innovate Roll.* Needless to say they were not there when the roll came to be dealt with finally.

[4] See the Introduction to Devon's edition of the Brantingham Issue Roll and Devon's Report on the Pells Office (*D. K.'s Reports*, loc. cit.).

and Agarde in his reference to that collection both date the rolls only so far back as to the reign of Edward I.

But however we may account for the Westminster and the Whitehall Collections there still remains the problem of the Rolls that came from ' the vault '. Is it possible that the Auditor, at the time when he disputed precedence with the Clerk of the Pells, also formed for himself, perhaps by drawing on the Treasury of the Receipt as the Clerk of the Pells had done, a collection of medieval Archives ? and that when between 1800 and 1833, as Black argues,[1] some of his legitimate Archives—Patent Books and so forth—somehow got removed to ' the vault ' these more ancient rolls went with them ? It is again a tempting conjecture, but one which the absence of any lists of the rolls which came from that and other sources makes it impossible to prove or disprove : and so we must leave it.

(*r*) *The Excusable and the Inexcusable.* We have said enough to indicate that the confusion in which the Receipt Archives came to the hands of those who made the 1859 List must be attributed largely to neglect and maladministration by many hands spread over a considerable time—nearly two centuries at least. The same may probably be said of their mutilation [2] and loss [3] and of the dispersal of small quantities which we have already noticed as scattered among other Archives.[4] On the other hand, the fact that a Class is in a state of confusion forms no real excuse for leaving it in that, or a worse, condition.

But the real accusation in connexion with the *Receipt* and *Issue Rolls* is furnished by the *Pells and Auditors* arrangement. That there was some superficial reason for this in a consideration both of the places from which

[1] *D. K.'s Reports*, II, i, p. 39. Black, who suggests that these archives may have been removed from ' the houses in Palace Yard anciently called Heaven, Hell and Purgatory ' (an eloquent description), deals in detail with the later Books, but studiously avoids any attempt to theorize on the subject of the Rolls. Possibly had he himself had the carrying out of the recommendations he made in this Report things might have been very different.

[2] Many of the rolls have had large pieces of blank parchment abstracted from them : possibly they served as a handy source of supply in the eighteenth century for (e. g.) *Tellers' Bills*. But the nineteenth century, when the Record Commission was sitting charged with the duty of bettering the conditions of Archives, must bear responsibility for the move to Somerset House which in a few years, thanks to the wetness of the vault, reduced some of our rolls to a state of nearly solid blocks.

[3] It is very difficult to say when loss occurred and whether it was by theft or otherwise. Documents from the Receipt have from time to time turned up in private hands—for example, a number of *Tellers' Bills* figured in the Phillips sale—but never, I believe, any rolls. The *Tellers' Bills* may have been part of the ' Waste Paper ' sold out of the vault under order of the Controller General. On the subject of the loss in this and other ways of Public Records see *The Report . . . of the Select Committee of the House of Lords appointed to inquire into the Destruction and Sale of Exchequer Records* (*Sessional Papers*, 1840, 298) and the evidence of Sir Thomas Hardy before a Committee of the House of Lords on the Record Office Bill in 1877.

[4] e. g. those of the *Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer* and the *King's Remembrancer*. Madox saw the Henry II writ of *Liberate* at the Tower of London !

the Archives were received and of the division of the later Archives of the same Department is quite true ; and it is true that to arrive at the real nature of these Rolls involved research in somewhat out-of-the-way places, and a lengthy consideration of the rolls themselves. But those who thrust the *Auditors and Pells* arrangement on the Receipt Rolls did more than accept and act upon conclusions hastily formed and intrinsically absurd. By destruction of lists and references they obliterated almost all traces of what their predecessors had done and of the provenance of their Archives, making it impossible ever to re-establish with certainty the original state of the documents. In doing this they committed the worst, because the most elementary, crime of which an Archivist can be guilty.

(ii) Chart to illustrate Development of Records of Issue in the Exchequer of Receipt : with some Notes on the ' Main Record ' Theory of Arrangement.

We have to illustrate here the difficulty of arranging in a satisfactory manner the Archives of an Administration which during a considerable part of its career was in a fluid state ; taking a concrete example once more from the Exchequer of Receipt, and using only the series and documents relating to Issue. To make the example clearer we have tabulated them (see Chart on p. 241), a system deservedly condemned [1] but occasionally useful.

It will be seen that most periods are covered by more than one continuous series among these Archives ; though few of them last very long, and at the beginning, and again in the middle, we have to depend on nothing but original *Writs* or *Warrants* for Issue. We have seen something of the meaning of all these classes in the previous Appendix.[2]

It is interesting to see how impossible it would be to reduce this body of documents into order by means of the ' Main Record ' formula. At the beginning we might presumably attach that description to the very early existing class of original writs of *Liberate*, and even when a *Liberate Roll* is instituted it is for some time distinctly subordinate to the originals, just as the early *Receipt Roll* was subordinate to the original *Tallies*. However, the position will presumably be transferred presently to the General *Liberate Roll* Class : or will it go to that very regular little set of *Brevia Persoluta* ? in any case at what point are we to transfer it to the *Issue Roll*, which is certainly a more developed form, and the one which ultimately survives, of final record ? we are presumably to take the single-columned *Issue Roll* as the main series for a time ; the double-columned one being distinctly a rough draft in origin, which only takes first place gradually (another problem, to decide the point at which it becomes the main series).

We shall not be comfortably settled until we arrive at the final form of the *Issue Roll* (its third form). Meanwhile we have had to face the question raised by the triplication of the series, deciding presumably to treat all three as parallel *Main Series* ; though there is something to be

[1] Cp. Muller, Feith, and Fruin, § 40.

[2] Above, Appendix V (i).

said for making the two Chamberlains' Rolls subsidiary to the Treasurer's, which is the only one to survive eventually. Another little difficulty arises with the *Protecolla*, but we will disregard that.

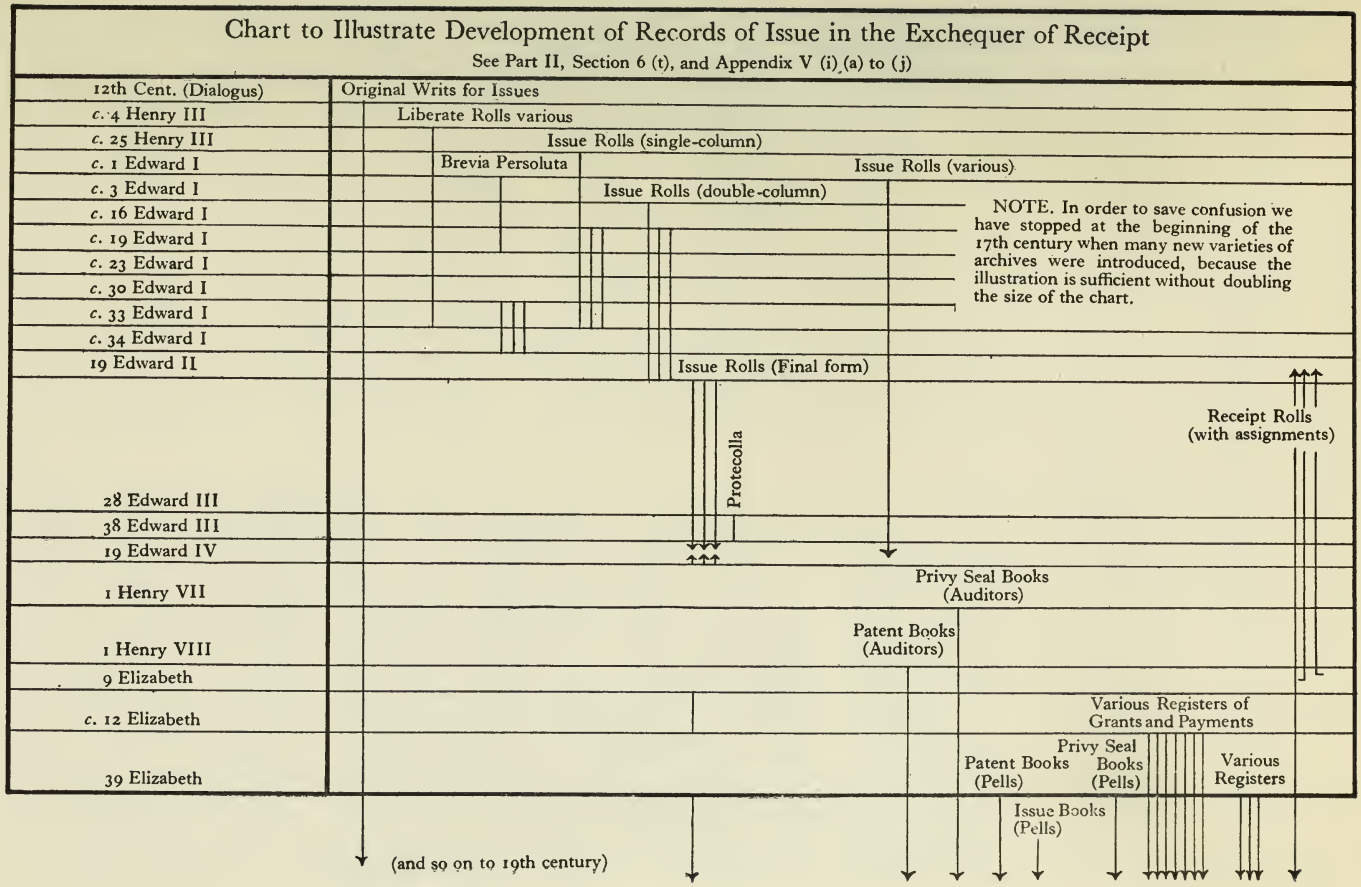
Now we come to the period when the *Issue Roll* was more or less deliberately dropped.[1] Here we should naturally expect to go back to the original writs as our main, indeed our only, authority: there is considerable ground, however, for saying that the *Issue Roll* was dropped because it was so often repeated by the assignment or *pro* column on the right of the *Receipt Roll*; and we should certainly have to investigate the claims of that series to be considered the chief Record of Issue! Towards the end of this period, too, a number of new book-forms of Archives were coming in—several of them start, it may be noticed, before 1597, when the *Issue Roll* was finally recommenced by the triumphant Clerk of the Pells. However, from that date onwards there is no question what is the received chief archive of the department, for the *Issue Book* is definitely considered by the Officials themselves as a draft for the *Issue Roll* and all others are unquestioned subsidiaries: we have no further trouble except the introduction of a new series, not a parallel one this time, but a split-off portion of the main one, in the shape of the *Annuities Issue Rolls* in the time of William III.

In the Chart attached special attention is called to the five triplicate series—*Brevia Persoluta*; *Issue Rolls* (*Single-columned*); *Issue Rolls* (*Double-columned*); *Issue Rolls* (*Final Form*); and *Receipt Rolls* (*with Assignments*). The two groups of lines headed *Various Registers* consist of distinct varieties which are represented together in the chart only for the sake of convenience.

[1] There seems no doubt that the Auditor's side in the official quarrel whose papers we have quoted so often was right in maintaining that Henry VII deliberately depended for safety of Record upon the *Receipt Roll*, taking the system of issue by writ as sufficiently protected: compare the statement of this point in both the *Exchequer of Receipt* papers and Skinner's papers among the *Lansdowne MSS.*, already quoted. But the dropping took place before Henry VII's time.

Chart to Illustrate Development of Records of Issue in the Exchequer of Receipt

See Part II, Section 6 (t), and Appendix V (i) (a) to (j)


12th Cent. (Dialogus)
Original Writs for Issues
c. 4 Henry III
Liberate Rolls various
c. 25 Henry III
Issue Rolls (single-column)
c. 1 Edward I
Brevia Persoluta
Issue Rolls (various)
c. 3 Edward I
Issue Rolls (double-column)
c. 16 Edward I
c. 19 Edward I
c. 23 Edward I
c. 30 Edward I
c. 33 Edward I
c. 34 Edward I
19 Edward II
Issue Rolls (Final form)
NOTE. In order to save confusion we have stopped at the beginning of the 17th century when many new varieties of archives were introduced, because the illustration is sufficient without doubling the size of the chart.
Receipt Rolls (with assignments)
28 Edward III
Protocolla
38 Edward III
19 Edward IV
1 Henry VII
Privy Seal Books (Auditors)
1 Henry VIII
Patent Books (Auditors)
9 Elizabeth
c. 12 Elizabeth
Various Registers of Grants and Payments
39 Elizabeth
Patent Books (Pells)
Privy Seal Books (Pells)
Various Registers
Issue Books (Pells)
(and so on to 19th century)

GENERAL INDEX

NOTE.—The names of *Classes of Archives* cited in illustration in the book are here distinguished by being set in *Italic type.*

Similarly the names of *Authors cited* have an asterisk ★ prefixed to them in the Index so that the Student who desires may easily pick them out.

A

Accession of Documents in Modern Office, Registration of, 173.
Accession Number, Use of, 86.
Accession Register, 89, 133.
Account Books (*Exch. of Receipt*), 230.
Accounting, Italian methods of, 78.
Accounts as form of Archives, 169, 178, 184, 185.
Accounts, Declared, 236 *n.*
—, *Original,* 37 *n,* 85, 228 *n.*
Acts (*Colonial Office*), 5.
Adhesives, Use of in Repair, 68, 69 *n,* 70.
Administration.
—, Distribution of duties in and connexion with Archives, 29.
—, Ecclesiastical, in England, 197.
—, English, History and development of : *see* App. I and V.
—, —, —, Works on, 201, 202.
—, Local, in England : general note on, 195, 196.
—, Public (Central), in England, 193.
Administrator as Compiler of Archives, 87.
—, Relations of, with Archivist, 123.
Admiralty Logs, 62.
Admiralty, Work on Naval History issued by, 20.
Admiralty Records, 3, 20, 91 *n.*
Africa, South, Archives in, 82.
African Company, Archives of, 26, 37, 113.
African Goat Skin, as material for Binding, 217.
★Agarde, Arthur, Deputy Chamberlain of the Receipt, *Compendium* of Archives of Treasury of Receipt by, 98, 236.
Agarde, Arthur, on dangers to Records, 45.
—, —, Original note on a document by, 63 *n.*
Air, Defence against attacks from, 45, 46.
—, Disturbance of, as protection against Mildew, 47, 51, 52, 223, 224.
America, Map of, 6, 96.
—, United States, Archive Work in, v, vii.
—, —, National Archives at Washington, vii, 21, 165 *n.*
America, United States, Research on Paper in, 158 *n.*
—, —, Scheme for Archive Manual published in, 19 *n.*
★America, Library of Congress, Pamphlet on *Care, Cataloguing, and Arrangement of Documents* published by, 16 *n,* 92 *n.*
Ammonium Sulphide, as Reagent, Use of, 81.
Ancient Inventories : *see under* Palgrave, Sir Francis.
'Ancient Miscellanea,' 27, 28, 112.
★Anglo-American Committee, *Reports on Editing,* 125–131.
Aniline Dyes in Modern Documents, 157.
'Annexed ' Documents : *see under* Documents.
Annexures to Documents, Limitations of, 6, 7.
'Anobium ' Beetle, Danger to Documents from, 220, 221.
★Antiquaries, Society of, *Archaeologia,* Articles on *Tallies* in, 12 *n,* 226 *n,* 228 *n.*
—, —, *Proceedings,* Article on Tallies in, 12 *n,* 13 *n,* 37 *n,* 228 *n.*
★*Archivalische Zeitschrift,* vi.
Archive Education, in England, viii, ix.
—, in foreign countries, vii.
Archive Groups : *see under Arrangement.*
Archive History, Specimen example of (Exchequer of Receipt), App. V.
Archive Maker, Qualities desirable in, 152.
Archive Making, 201, 202.
—, Golden Rule of, 152, 153.
—, Suggested Limitation of, 189.
— : *see also under* Registry.
Archive Method, Proposed Standardization tion of, 17.
Archive Policy, 16.
Archive Quality, xi, 11–13, 39, 156.
Archive Science, Bibliography of, App. II.
'Archives, Dépôt d' ' : *see* ' Dépôt.'
'—, Fonds d' ' : *see* ' Fonds.'
Archives, Administration of, and Branches of Work on : *see* Table of Contents and Text, *passim.*

Archives, Ancient and Modern, 30.
—, —, Public and Private, Common Qualities of, 30.
—, Archive Groups (*Fonds*) in, 101-111, 115–117.
—, —, Definition of, 101.
—, —, Divisions of, 111.
—, —, Filling up of gaps in, 118.
—, —, Transference between, 114.
—, Arrangement of : *see under* Arrangement.
—, Central and Local, Relation of : *see under* Public Record Office.
—, Circumstances of writing of, 4.
—, cited in Illustration in this work : *see* App. I : *see also* Note prefixed to this Index.
—, Classes of, Variations in careers of, 28.
—, Compilations from, 20.
—, contrasted with Current Office Files, 8.
—, contrasted with Documents in Museums, 7.
—, Copies from, Authentication of, 167.
—, Dating of, 5, 8.
—, Definition and Description of, 2–11.
—, Dependence of History on, 1.
—, Differentiation of Classes of, 25–32.
—, —, Order of, 31.
—, Distinction of, from other Documents, 4, 8.
—, Diversion of, from original purpose, 37.
—, Divisions of, Primary, 23, 138.
—, Effect of modern conditions on quality of, 154, 155.
—, Elucidation and Interpretation of, 204, 205.
—, Enemies of, xi : *see also* App. IV.
—, English, Classification of, App. I.
—, —, contrasted with Continental, 16, 18, 43.
—, —, General Archive Problems illustrated from, 15–19.
—, —, Homogeneity in description of, 119, 129, 130.
—, —, Particular qualities of, 16.
—, —, Publication of, by various Authorities, 9, 199, 202, 203 *n.*
—, —, Varieties and Development of : *see* App. I and V.
—, Evolution of, 23–32, 156.
—, Forgeries of, 13–15.
—, —, and Historical Criticism, 13.
—, —, Private, in Public Archives, 10, 11.
—, —, Shakespearean, Alleged, 10.
—, Future, Formation of, 22, and Part IV *passim.*
—, General view of process of formation of, in English Chancery, 27.
—, Guides to, 200, 201.
—, Increase in bulk of, 151.
Archives, Laws concerning : *see under* England ; France ; Germany ; Italy ; Russia.
—, Materials used for, Control of, 160, 161, 171, 172.
—, Historical Criticism of, 11–15.
—, Modern, Methods and Rules of Making : *see* Part IV *passim.*
—, Mutilation of, 238 *n.*
'Archives Nationales': *see under* France.
Archives, Official Character of, 4.
—, other than English, 192 : *see also under* America; Belgium; Channel Islands; Denmark ; Esthonia ; Finland ; France ; Germany ; Ireland ; Italy ; Norway ; Poland ; Russia ; Schleswig-Holstein ; Scotland ; Sweden ; Wales.
—, Point at which documents become, 8.
—, Printed, 199, 202, 203.
—, Private, in England, 193, 196, 197.
—, Probation period proposed for, 182, 183.
—, Production of, to Students, 51, 52, 56, 58, 59, 64, 65, 134, 154, 155.
—, Public, in private hands, 9, 10.
—, —, Species of, 7, 8.
—, Reception of, by Archivist, 85.
—, Rules for keeping, Proposal to standardize, 17.
—, 'Strays' from Custody, Examples of, 186 *n.*
—, Terminology to be used in description of, 79, 119, 126, 129, 130.
—, Theft, Preventive measures against, 63, 64.
—, Territorial distribution of, 103 *n.*
—, Transmission of, 32–38.
—, —, Work of former archivists, 32.
—, War, 22.
—, Work on, in the past, 1, 32, 33, 63*n*, 109, 111, 236: *see also* App. V *passim.*
Archives : *see also* Arrangement ; Documents ; Manorial Archives ; Maps ; Memoirs ; Museums ; Newspapers ; Parliament, Speeches in ; Records ; Repositories.
★*Archivi d'Italia*, vi.
Archivist, Definition of, 38–41.
—, Duties of : *see* Part II *passim.*
—, his Connexion with modern and future Archives, 128, 161.
—, Notes by, 37, 62 *n*, 63 *n*, 78, 88 *n*, 95–97, 190 *n*, 217, 218 : *see also* Agarde, Arthur.
—, Reference Books for, 48 *n*, 198 ; *see also* App. II.
—, Registers to be kept by, xi, 133–135.
—, Relations with Depositing Offices, 189, 190.
—, Relations with Editor, 127.
—, Relations with Historian, 123, 124.
—, Working Registers of, 133–135.

Archivists, Effect of early work of, on Archives, 32, 33, 109, 236 : *see also* App. V *passim.*
Arrangement of Archives, 97–114.
—, according to Administrative functions, 111.
—, Chief principle of, 97.
—, Chronological order in, 97.
—, Class Headings in, 109.
—, Continental theories of, 104.
—, Dating in, 112.
—, Differentiation of classes necessary in, 108.
—, Evolution of Archives to be considered in, 107.
—, Form of document not to govern, 97.
—, Headings for, 116.
—, ' Lignes capitales ' and ' Lignes principales ' in, 105, 106.
—, ' Main Record ' and ' Main Series ' in, 106–109, App. V (ii).
—, ' Methodizers' ' work in, 109, 236.
—, ' Miscellanea ' in, 111–113.
—, Misplaced documents in, 113.
—, and Modern Administrative Methods, 106.
—, Old and new series in, 111.
—, '*Ordre primitif*' to be maintained in, 7 *n*, 104.
—, Original Series in, 106, 107.
—, '*Pièces isolées*' in, 104, 107.
—, Procedure to be adopted for, 98.
—, Slip-making in, 99, 117.
—, Subject order not to be used for, 98.
—, Subordinate Classes and Series in, 104, 107.
—, ' Vertical Divisions ' in, 100.
—, Wrong Methods exemplified : *see* App. V (i) *passim.*
— : *see also under* Calendars; Indexes; Inventories; Lists; Summary Inventory; Transcribing.
★Arts, Society of, *Leather for Bookbinding*, 76 *n.*
Assignment Books (*Exch. of Receipt*), 230.
Assize Rolls, 29 *n.*
Auditor of the Receipt : *see under* Receipt, Exchequer of.
'*Auditor's ' Records : see under* Receipt, Exchequer of.
Authentication : *see under* Registry.
Authenticity, as a quality of Archives, 12.
★Ayloffe, Sir Joseph, *Carte Antique*, 90.

B

Backing and Filling, as method of Repair, 72, 73.
Bacterial Action, Damage to Documents from, 221, 222.
★ Bain, J., *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland*, 84.
★Ballard, A., *An Eleventh Century Inquisition*, 15 *n.*
Belgium, Purchase of Documents for Archives in, 43.
—, Reports on Archives in, 9.
Bell, William, Note by, 37.
Bennet, Mr. Justice, on Documentary Form, 165 *n.*
Bevan, E. J. : *see* Cross and Bevan.
Binding and Casing, Comparison of, 126 *n.*
Bindings (of Books), Importance of, in criticism of MSS., 88, 90.
— : *see also under* Bookbinding ; Documents.
★Bird, S. R. Scargill, *Guide to the Public Records*, 201 *n.*
Birkenhead's Act, Lord; Effect of on Archives, x.
Birmingham, Free Library at, 41.
Bishops' Certificates (*Exch., First Fruits*), 6 *n*, 33 *n*, 103.
— (*Queen Anne's Bounty*), 103.
Bishops' Registers, 31, 90, 217.
★Black, W. H., Work on the Exchequer of Receipt by, 233, 237 *n*, 238 *n.*
de Bohun : *see* Hereford, Earls of.
Bombs, Defence against, 45 *n*, 49.
—, Variety and Size of, 45 *n.*
Book-binding, Boards for, 77.
—, History of, 77, 78, 126 *n.*
—, Materials for, 76–78.
—, Sewing in, 75.
—, —, Evidence from, 78.
—, Varieties of, 58, 59, 61, 62, 75–78, 126 *n.*
—, —, Flexible, 76, 216, 217.
—, —, Half-binding, 216.
—, —, Ledger, 78.
—, —, Oriental, 217.
—, —, Quarter-binding, 76.
—, —, Vellum, 76.
—, —, Whole-binding, in cloth, 76.
—, —, —, in leather, 76, 77, 216, 217.
—, Repair of, 215–218.
—, —, Examples of, 217, 218.
—, —, Specifications for, 215–217.
— : *see also under* Cockerell, Douglas ; Documents ; Repairing.
★Bordier, L., *Les Archives de la France*, 8 *n.*
' Borkhausenia ' (House-moth) Larvæ, Danger to Documents from, 220, 221.
Boxes, Use of, for packing Archives, 52-54, 56–60.
—, Leather board, 53, 54.
—, —, Specifications for, 208, 209.
★British Archaeological Journal, Article on Seals in, 126 *n.*
British Museum, Public Archives in, 10, 186 *n.*
★British Museum (Natural History), *Economic Series*, 220 *n.*

British Records Association, Exhibitions by, of Record Publications, viii *n.*
—, Foundation of, x.
★British Records Association, *Proceedings*, 67, 129 *n.*
—, *Classification of English Archives*, 192.
—, *Report on Ecclesiastical Archives*, 197.
—, *Year's Work in Archives*, vi, vii.
Bromley [William, Sec. of State], his Care of State Papers, 186 *n.*
★Brown, J. D., *Library Economy*, 198.
★*Bruxelles, L'organisation des Archives de la ville de*, 164.
Buckingham [Henry Stafford], Duke of, 34.
Buckland, C. S. B., Note by, 186 *n.*
Buckram, Linen, Use of, in make-up of Documents, 55, 76, 212, 213, 216.
Bulk, Problem of, in Modern Archives, 21, 52, 59.
Business, Effect of new methods of, on Archives, 166–169.
—, Mixed Archives of (File System), 169.

C

Caesar, Sir Julius, Papers of, 237.
Calendars, Rules for making, 19, 130, 131.
Calico, Unbleached, Use of, in make-up of Documents, 211, 212.
★Cambridge Histories (Series), 198.
Cancer, Powder for Curing : *see under* Documents.
Carbon Ink : *see under* Ink.
Card Indexes, Appearance of, in Archives, 165.
Carlton Ride (London), Record Repository at, 139.
Cartularies, 36, 37, 120 *n*, 130.
★Casanova, E., *Archivistica*, 3 *n*, 198.
Cash Books (*Exch. of Receipt*), 230.
Casing, distinguished from Binding, 75, 126 *n.*
Casts and Moulds : *see under* Seals.
Cause Books, 122 *n.*
Cecil MSS., 37.
Cely [George], Letter of, 84.
Cely Papers, 84, 85.
— : *see also* Malden, H. E.
Certificate Books (*Exch. of Receipt*), 230.
Ceylon, Archives in, 82.
Chamberlains : *see under* Receipt, Exchequer of.
Chancellor's Roll, 142 *n.*
Chancery, English, Earliest archives of, 24.
—, —, Procedure of, in fourteenth century, 105.
Chancery Enrolments, viii : *see also under Charter ; Close ; Liberate ; Patent.*
Chancery Proceedings, 60 *n.*
Channel Islands, Archives of, 192.
Chapter Archives, 234 *n.*
Charter Rolls, 10, 29, 105, 106.
Charters, Royal, Forgeries of, 10.
Chatham MSS., 43.
Cheirographer, Office of, in Court of Common Pleas, 35.
Chemist, Help of, in solution of Archive problems, 62.
Chertsey Abbey, Cartulary of, 36.
Chester, Records of Palatinate, 33 *n.*
Chichester, Episcopal Register of, 217.
Chitty, H., Note by, 63.
Chronology, Works on, 204.
Cinematograph Film, Preservation of, in Archives, 164, 165.
—, Use of, in photographing documents, 63.
Class Headings : *see under* Arrangement.
Classification of Archives, App. I.
Cleaning : *see under* Repositories.
Cleaning Materials, Use of, in Repair, 74.
Climate, Effect of, on Archives, 82, 159.
Close Roll, 27, 29, 31.
★Cockerell, Douglas, *Bookbinding*, 70 *n*, 75.
★Cokayne, G. E., *Complete Peerage*, 34 *n.*
Colonial Records, 61 *n.*
Command Papers (*War Office*), 150.
' Commissions,' Archives of, 102.
★Commons, House of, *Reports* of Special Committees of, 201 *n*, 232, 235 *n.*
—, —, *Journals*, &c., of, 201 *n.*
Commonwealth Exchequer Papers, 54 *n.*
Communiqués, Official, Contrasted with Archives, 4.
Composite Classes in Archives artificially formed, Criticism of, 143.
Confidential Documents, Treatment of, in Archives, 154.
★Congress, Library of (U.S.A.), Work on *Care, Cataloguing, and Arranging of MSS.* published by, 16 *n*, 75 *n.*
Controller General of Exchequer, Records of, 103, 233.
Conversations, Representation of, in Archives, 166.
Conveyancing Act, 39 *n.*
Copies : *see under* Archives.
Copying of Documents : *see under* Registry.
Copyright Records, 35.
Coram Rege Rolls, 63.
Corporations, Archives of, in England, 196.
Corrections, added to Documents, 83.
Correspondence, Ancient, 84 *n*, 85.
Correspondence, Private, in Archives, 168
Corrosive Sublimate, Use of, for protection of Documents, 219 *n.*
Cottonian Library, Report to House of Commons on, 232.
County Council Archives, 34 *n*, 87.

Courier, Paul-Louis, and MS. of Daphnis and Chloe, 62.
Court Rolls, Manorial, 34.
' Courts ' forming Archive Groups in England : *see* App. I.
Crawford, Earl of, MSS. of, 5 *n.*
Cromwell, Family of, 36.
★Cross C. F., and Bevan, E. J., *Paper-making*, 159.
Crump, C. G., Note by, 105.
★Crump, C. G., Hughes, A., and Johnson, C. (ed.), *Dialogus de Saccario*, 24, 142 *n*, 226 *n.*
Cunningham, Peter, Alleged forgeries by, 10, 13.
Curia Regis Rolls, 33.
Custodian, for Archives, Definition of a responsible, 37.
—, Public Librarian as, 38.
Custody, Documents out of, 120.
—, Theory of, 9–11.
—, and its effect on Archives, 32–38.
—, at different stages of transmission of Archives, 37.
★Cuvelier, Joseph, Director of Belgian Archives, 9 *n.*
—, —, on the grouping of Archives, 110 *n.*
—, —, *Rôle des Archives*, 3 *n.*
Cylinders, Cardboard, used in packing documents, 53–55.

D

Dacre, Baronies of, Possible Forgery in connexion with, 11 *n.*
Dating : *see under* Archives ; Registry.
Declared Accounts, 236.
Decrees and Orders (*Chancery*), 27 *n.*
Deeds, Listing of, 129.
—, Special Packing for, 56, 57, 93.
Deeds, Ancient, 55, 56, 85.
Denmark, Arrangement concerning Archives in, vi.
—, Study of Archive Science in, vii.
★Department of Scientific and Industrial Research, *Bulletin* and *Leaflets*, 220 *n.*
Departmental Records, in England, 194.
—, Status of, 150 *n.*
Deposited Documents, Place of, in Archives, 120.
Depositions, Chancery, 27 *n.*
' Dépôt d'Archives,' Definition of, 104.
Descriptive List, Definition of, 126.
—, Use of, 128–130.
Destruction of Archives, Ancient and Modern, 138–152, 172, 184.
—, Arrangements for, in England in nineteenth century, 139.
—, Committee of House of Lords on (1877), 142.
Destruction of Archives, Committee of House of Lords on (1877), *see also* Hardy, Sir Thomas ; Jessel, Sir George.
—, Criteria of Safety in, 140, 147.
—, Duplicates proposed as suitable for, 141, 143.
—, Grounds for, 118, 139.
—, Historian as selector for, 146.
—, —, Objections to, 149.
—, Reasons and justification for, 139.
—, Regulations for, in various countries, 138.
—, Responsibility for, 145.
—, Selection for, Methods generally used in, 138.
—, Selection of individual specimens for preservation criticized, 143.
—, Selectors for, 138, 146, 148, 150.
—, Statutory rules for, in England, 137.
—, Tallies as an example of unjustifiable, 139.
—, ' Valueless ' Documents, proposed as suitable for, 144.
Destruction of Archives, Modern, Administrative Official as Selector, 148, 150.
—, —, Apparent necessity for, 136.
—, —, Cases for delayed action, 180.
—, —, Cases reserved for later examination, 180.
—, —, Documents which may be destroyed immediately, 179.
—, —, in English Public Departments, Permissive Schedules for, 148 *n.*
—, —, Present provision for, 127, 147.
—, —, Suggested routine of, 180–182.
—, —, Suggested time limits for, 183.
—, —, of unregistered documents in Modern Office, 184.
—, — : *see also under* Registry.
★Devon, F., *Issue Roll of Thomas de Brantingham*, 227 *n*, 236 *n*, 237 *n.*
Devon, F., Work of, 227 *n*, 232 *n*, 233, 235 *n*, 236, 237 *n.*
Dictated letters, Copies of, Value as Archives, 166, 167.
Differentiation : *see under* Archives.
Diplomatic, Works on, 204.
Documents, ' Annexed,' Special treatment of, 7, 185.
—, Bindings of, Original, 87, 88.
—, —, after writing, 90 *n.*
—, — : *see also under* Book-binding.
—, Cancer powder as part of, 6.
—, Coin as part of, 6.
—, Confidential, Treatment of, 185, 186.
—, contrasted with Archives, 5, 183, 184.
—, Corrections added to, 83.
—, Current use of, in modern office, 183.
—, Damage to, from unsuitable make-up, 219.
—, Definition of, 5–7.

Documents, Description of, 118, 174.
—, Distribution of, in Modern Office : *see under* Registry.
—, Editing, Transcribing, and Printing of, Rules for, 125–132 ; *see also under* Calendars ; Editing ; Printing ; Transcribing.
—, Enclosures in, 6, 89, 90.
—, Engraving used in, 6.
—, Exhibits contrasted with, 5.
—, fastened together, 67.
—, Fragile, Special care for, 82.
—, Folds in, 52, 54, 56.
—, Guarding of, 59, 214, 215 *n.*
—, Human hair as part of, 6.
—, Insertions made in, 89, 90.
—, Labelling of, 53, 60, 66, 75 *n*, 94 *n.*
—, Make-up for, 51–62, 126, 163.
—, — : *see also under* Deeds; Loose Documents; Maps; Outsize Documents; Rolls ; *and below* Packing; Receptacles.
—, Methods of Make-up for : Binding, 58, 59, 61, 62, 75–78 ; *see also* App. III.
—, —: Boxes, &c. : *see below under* Receptacles.
—, —: Filing, 58, 59, 67 *n* ; *see also* App. III.
—, —: Parcelling, 60.
—, Maps as part of, 6.
—, Materials of ; Cardboard, Leather, Paper, Parchment, Vellum, Wood, Woven materials, 6.
—, Misplacing of, 65.
—, New Forms of, 165.
—, Notes made by Archivist on : *see under* Archivist.
—, Numbering of, 89, 91–97, 115–117.
—, —, Old and new, 85, 86.
—, —, Original to be distinguished, 89.
—, —, Rules for, 115–117.
—, Objects annexed to, 7.
—, Over-production of, 170.
—, Packing Number of, 93–95.
—, Pencil marks on, 96.
—, Photographic processes used in modern, 6.
—, Pictures as part of, 6.
—, Printing used in, 5.
—, Printing of : *see above* Editing.
—, Production of, to Students, 51, 52, 56, 58, 59, 64, 65, 134.
—, Receptacles for : Boxes, 52–60, 62 ; *see also* App. III.
—, — : Envelopes, 56.
—, — : Folders, 55, 59, 60 ; *see also* App. III.
—, — : Portfolios, 55, 60 ; *see also* App. III.
—, — : Trays, 57 ; *see also* App. III.
—, References of, 94, 95.
Documents, References of : *see also under* Key Lists ; References.
—, Removal of, from true position, 54.
—, Repair of, 67–80 : *see also under* Repairing.
—, Schedules added to, 89, 90.
—, Sewing of, 68, 88.
—, —, Original, 88 *n.*
—, Specially valuable, Preservation of, 82.
—, Stamping, Rules for, 88, 89.
—, Standardization of Descriptions of, suggested, 119.
—, Transcribing of : *see above* Editing.
—, Whip-cord as part of, 6.
— : *see also* Archives ; Destruction.
Domesday Chest, 24 *n.*
'Domus Conversorum,' 29.
★Doubleday, H. A., editor of *Complete Peerage*, 11 *n.*
Dover, Court Book of Borough of, 61.
★Dugdale, Sir William, *Baronage*, 34 *n.*
Duplicates, Meaning of term in relation to Archives, 144.
— : *see also under* Destruction.

E

Easter, High [co. Essex], Manor of, 34.
Ecclesiastical Administration : *see under* Administration.
Edging, as method of Repair, 72, 73.
Editing, Principles of, 125.
—, —, compared with rules for transcribing, 126.
—, Reports on, 125–131.
Edward I, Documents taken from Scotland by, 104.
Ehrlich, Professor L., Note by, 63.
Enclosures, Accidental, in Archives, Importance of, 142.
— : *see also under* Documents.
England, Administration and Archives in : *see* Part I *passim* and App. I.
—, Archive studies in, v, vii–xi.
—, Archive theory in, 191, 192.
—, Classification of Archives in, 191–197.
—, —, Artificial Collections, 193.
—, —, Ecclesiastical, 191, 193, 197.
—, —, Private, 191, 193, 196, 197.
—, —, Public Central, 191–195.
—, —, Public Local, 191, 192, 195, 196.
—, —, Semi-Public, 193, 196.
—, Laws concerning Archives in, x.
—, Local Repositories in, viii, ix.
—, Number of authorities controlling Archives in , 18 *n.*
—, Public and Private Archives in, used in Illustration, 16 : *see also* Ap p.I and V *passim.*
—, Repositories in : *see under* Repositories.
—, Training of Archivists in, viii, ix.

England, Work of early Archivists in, 25, 32.
—, Work on Local Records in, viii–x.
English Archives : *see under* Archives.
★*English Historical Review : see* articles under names of Putnam, B. H. ; Richardson, H. G. ; Salzmann, L. F. ; Steel, A. B.
Engravings : *see under* Documents.
Enrolment, contrasted with Records 'entered,' 231.
—, in Family Bible, 8.
Envelopes : *see under* Documents, Receptacles for.
Esthonia, Archive Work in, vii.
Europe, Development of Archive Work in, v–vii.
Evacuation of Archives, Schemes for, 46, 47.
Exchequer, King's Remembrancer, Records of, 117.
—, —, *Original Accounts of*, 117.
Exchequer of Receipt : *see* Receipt, Exchequer of.
Exhibits, contrasted with Documents, 5.
Expired Commissions, 26, 37, 113.
Extincteurs, Danger from, 45 *n.*
—, Types of, 45 *n.*
Evolution of Archives : *see under* Archives.

F

Family Archives, 196 : *see also under* Private Muniments.
★Fanshawe, Sir Thomas, King's Remembrancer, *Practice of the Exchequer Court*, 193 *n*, 210, 212.
★Feith : *see* Muller, Feith, and Fruin.
Files, earliest form of Archives, 23.
— (or Jackets), in Modern Office, Object of, 153, 169.
—, Original to be retained, 87, 88.
— : *see also under* Documents.
Filing, Modern Methods of, 60 *n.*
—, as method of make-up for Documents, 58, 59, 67 *n.*
Filing-Boards, Specification for, 214, 215.
Filing-Press, Specification for, 213.
Fines, Feet of, 35, 96, 140.
—, *Notes of*, 96.
Finland, Archive Work in, vii.
Fire, Great : *see under* London.
Fire, Precautions against, 45, 46.
★Fisher, H. A. L., *Biographical Sketch of F. W. Maitland*, 2 *n.*
★Fitz Niel, Richard, *Dialogus de Scaccario* by, 24, 121 *n*, 226 *n.*
Fitz Peter, Geoffrey, 34.
Fixative, Shellac used as, 72 *n*, 163.
—, Size used as, 163.
Flexible style in Binding, 76, 77, 216, 217.
Folders, Use of, in make-up of Documents, 55, 59, 60.
Folders, Specifications for, 210–213.
Folding, Danger from, 52, 54, 56.
Foliation of Documents, 92, 93, 94 *n.*
— : *see also under* Documents, Numbering of.
'Fonds,' 'Autonomous,' 100, 101.
—, Definition of as 'Archive Group,' 100.
—, Most important Archive Principle based on arrangement by, 101.
—, Significance of the word, 18.
— : *see also under* Archives.
Foreign Office Records, 3.
Foreign Schools, Authorities of, 19.
Forgeries : *see under* Archives.
★Fowler, G. H., *Care of County Muniments*, 17.
Fowler, G. H., on Paste, 70 *n.*
Framing, as Method of Repair, 73.
France, Archive Laws in, vi.
—, Archive Publication in , vii.
—, 'Archives Nationales,' vi, 18 *n*, 62.
—, —, Old Buildings adapted as Repositories for, vi *n.*
—, Notarial Archives in, vi.
—, Old methods of arrangement and classification of Archives in, 18.
French Revolution, Influences of, upon Archives, 18.
★Fruin, R. : *see* Muller, Feith, and Fruin.
Fungus, Danger to Documents from, 222.
—, —, Precautions against, 223, 224.
—, —, Research on, 222–224.
Future, Archives of : *see under* Archives.

G

Gall, as Reagent, Use of, 81.
Gauze, Silk : *see under* Repairing.
Germany, Archive Law in, vi.
—, Archive Education in, vii.
—, Archive re-organisation in, vi.
★Giry, A., *Manuel de Diplomatique*, 198.
★Giuseppi, M. S., *Guide to the Public Record Office*, ix, 191, 194.
Gold-beater's Skin, Use of, in Repair, 69 *n.*
★Gras, N. S. B., *The Early English Customs System*, 145 *n.*
Great Fire : *see under* London.
Grocers' Company, Wardens' Accounts of, 61, 218.
★Groom, P., and Panisset, Thérèse, *Penicillium*, 222 *n.*
Groups, Archive : *see under* Arrangement.
Guarding : *see under* Documents.
Guide, General, to any Archive Collection, Rules for making, 125.
— : *see also under* Repositories.

H

Hair, Human : *see under* Documents.

★Hall, Hubert, *Repertory of British Archives*, 191.
—, —, *Studies in English Official Historical Documents*, 25 *n*, 30 *n*, 32 *n*.
—, —, Editor of *Receipt Roll*, 226 *n*.
Handling of Documents, Rules as to, 62, 63.
★Hardy, Sir T. D., *Charters of the Duchy of Lancaster*, 34 *n*.
Hardy, Sir T. D., on Destruction of Archives, 142, 147 *n*, 148 *n*.
★Haselden, R. B., *Study of Manuscripts*, 81 *n*, 198.
Hatfield House, MSS. at, 37.
Heating : *see under* Repositories.
' Heaven, Hell, and Purgatory ' (Record Repositories), 238 *n*.
★Hepworth, T. C. : *see* Mitchell, C. A.
Hereford, Family of de Bohun, Earls of, 34.
High Easter : *see* Easter.
Historian, Duties of, to future Archives, 148.
—, —, to modern Archives, 149.
—, as selector of Documents for Destruction : *see under* Destruction.
Historical Criticism of Archives, 11–15.
★Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Reports*, viii, 168.
History, Modern Varieties of, 1.
Holland, Technical Research in, vii.
Home Office Records, 3.
Hudson's Bay Company, Archives of, 133 *n*.
★Hughes, A. : *see* Crump, Hughes, and Johnson.
Humidity, Effect of, on Documents, 69, 223.
Huntington Library, Research at, 81 ; *see also* App. IV.
Hydrogen Peroxide, Use of, for bleaching, 74 *n*.
Hygrometer, Use of, for protection of Archives, 223.

I

★Iiams, T. M., on *Vaporization*, 221 *n*.
Impartiality as a quality of Archives, 12.
Implements : *see under* Repairing.
Indexes, Definition of, 126.
—, Duplicate entries in, Use of, 118.
—, Modern system of, 169, 170.
—, Object of, 153.
—, Relation of, to Inventories, 122.
—, Unnecessary, Danger of, 170.
— : *see also under* Registry.
Indictments, Ancient, 24.
Infra-Red Rays, Use of, 82.
Ink, 96.
—, Carbon, 71.
—, ' Chinese ' and ' Indian,' 71.
—, Coloured, 71.
—, Rules against use of, 62.
Ink, Stamping, 162, 163.
—, Treatment of in Repair, 71.
—, Use of Reagents for restoring, 81.
Insect Pests : *see under* Anobium ; Borkhausenia ; Lyctus ; Xestobium.
Insertions : *see under* Documents.
Institute of Historical Research (London), Opening of, ix.
★Institute of Historical Research, *Bulletin*, viii *n*, 125 *n*.
★Institut International de Coopération Intellectuelle, *Guide International des Archives*, vii, 138, 186, 192, 198.
—, *Report on Paper*, 158 *n*.
Interview, Personal, Representation of, in Modern Archives, 166.
Inventories, 114, 115, 117–120.
—, Descriptions to be inserted in, 119.
—, Double entries used in making, 118.
—, Gaps in, to be filled, 118.
Ireland, Archives of, 192.
Issue Rolls, App. V, *passim*.
Italian Methods of Accounting, 78.
Italy, Archive Laws in, vi.
—, Notarial Archives in, vi.
—, Repositories in, vi.

J

'Jacket ' : *see under* Files.
Japanese paper, Use of in Repair, 69 *n*.
★Jenkinson, H., *Exchequer of Pleas*, 29.
—, *Financial Records of King John*, 226 *n*.
—, *Jewish Plea Rolls*, 28 *n*.
—, *Later Court Hands*, 198.
—, *Palaeography and the Study of Court Hand*, 11 *n*.
—, *Receipts from Jewry*, 226 *n*.
—, *Repairing Work for Amateurs*, 67.
—, *Seals*, 78, 126 *n*.
—, *Tallies*, 12 *n*, 13 *n*, 37 *n*, 226 *n*, 228 *n*.
— : *see also* Johnson and Jenkinson.
Jessel, Sir George, Master of the Rolls, on Destruction of Archives, 142.
★Jewish Historical Society, *Transactions*, 28 *n*, 206 *n*.
Jewish Rolls : *see under* Receipt, Exchequer of.
★Johnson, Charles, *Care of Documents*, 16.
—, —, and Jenkinson, H., *Court Hand Illustrated*, 35 *n*.
—, — : *see also* Crump, Hughes, and Johnson.
Jornalia Rolls, 229, 231.
Journals as a form of Archives, 144.

K

★Kenyon, Sir Frederick, on *British Museum MSS.*, 42.
Key Lists for changed References, 94.
Keys : *see under* Repositories.

King's Remembrancer : *see* Fanshawe, Sir T.
★Kingsford, C. L., *Stonor Papers*, 85 *n.*

L

Labelling, Methods of, 53, 60, 66, 117.
—, Varieties of, 66.
Laboratory Tests, Limitation of Results from, 221.
Lancaster, Records of Palatinate of, 34.
—, *Duchy of, Great Cowcher*, 217.
★Langlois, Ch. V., *La Science des Archives*, 2 *n*, 8 *n*.
★Langlois, Ch. V., et Stein, H., *Les Archives de l'histoire de France*, 2 *n*.
Laughton, Sir John, on Insertions in Books, 91 *n*, 142.
★Law, Ernest, *Some supposed Shakespearean Forgeries*, 10 *n*.
Lawton, John, ' Methodizer ' of Exchequer Records, 236 *n*.
Leather, for Binding, 76, 77.
—, —, Durability of, 76, 77.
—, ' Niger,' 77.
—, Preservative for, 77.
—, ' White-tawed,' 76 *n*.
Leather board, Use of, in make-up of Documents, 208, 209.
Ledger-back Binding, 76.
Ledgers as a form of Archives, 144.
Leeds, MSS. of Duke of, 37, 118.
★Lelong, A., on *Archives*, 3 *n*.
Letters, Personal : *see under* Confidential ; Correspondence.
Liberate Rolls (*Chancery*), 27.
Liberate Rolls (*Exchequer*), 141, 226, 227, 229, 233.
Liberate, Writs of, 238 *n*.
Libraries, Public, suitability as Archive Repositories, 40.
— : *see also under* America ; Birmingham.
Library Association, Diploma of, ix.
★Library Association, *Durability of Paper*, 158.
—, *Year's Work*, vi.
Lifts : *see under* Repositories.
Lighting : *see under* Repositories.
' Lignes capitales ' : *see under* Arrangement.
Linen, Un-bleached, as material for packing, 55, 211, 212.
—, —, Use of, in Repair, 72 *n*.
List, Class, 122.
—, Definition of, 126.
—, Descriptive, 128.
—, Shelf, 122, 128.
—, Use of, 128.
Listing, Methods of, 19.
Lists, of Archives, old and new, 85, 86.
Local Archives, Varieties of, App. I.
—, Report on (1903), 201 *n*.
Local Authorities and Societies, Preservation of private muniments by, viii, x *n*, 21, 42 *n*.
Local Repositories for Archives, viii, x, 42.
Logs, Admiralty 91, *n*.
London, Great Fire of, Effect of, on Archives, 96, 218 *n*.
London University, School of Librarianship in, ix.
' Long title,' Disuse of, in England, 36.
—, —, Result of, on Family Archives, 36.
Loose Documents, Special Packing for, 52, 55–60, 93.
Loose-leaf system, Use of, in Archives, 165.
Looting of Archives in War, 104.
★Lords Committees, Report of (1719), 201 *n*, 232.
★Lords, House of, Report of Select Committee of, on *Destruction and Sale of Records*, 136, 142, 238 *n*.
—, —, Journals and Sessional Papers of, 186 *n*, 233 *n*.
Losely MSS., 37 *n*.
' Lyctus ' Beetle, Danger to Documents from, 220, 221.

M

Madox, T., 238 *n*.
★Madox, T., *History of the Exchequer*, 232.
Main Record : *see under* Arrangement.
★Maitland, F. W., *Memoranda de Parliamento*, 139 *n*.
Make-up, Forms of : *see under* Documents.
—, Register of, 134.
★Malden, H. E., *Cely Papers*, 85 *n*.
Mandeville, Geoffrey de, 34.
Manilla, Use of, in make-up of Documents, 210–213.
Manorial Archives in England, Danger to, x, 36.
—, Quantities of, 129.
— : *see also Court Rolls ; Ministers' Accounts.*
Maps, in Archives, 96.
—, Special Packing for, 54, 55.
— : *see also under* America.
★Marsden, R. P., on *Port Books*, 145 *n*.
★Marshall, R. L., *Historical Criticism of Documents*, 13 *n*.
Master of the Rolls : *see* Rolls, Master of the.
Materials for Documents : Ink, Coloured, 71, 162.
— : —, Printer's, 162, 163.
— : Paint, 71, 162.
— : Paper, Control of use of, 160, 161.
— : —, Furnishes for, 159.
— : —, Grades of, 159, 160.
— : —, for Repairing, 69, 160 *n*.
— : —, Reports on, 157–160.

Materials : Pencil, 62, 96, 163.
—: Type-writing Ribbons, &c., 162, 163.
— : *see also under* Book-binding ; Documents ; Filing ; Guarding ; Make-up ; Parchment ; Registry ; Repairing ; Stamping ; Vellum.
Medici Family, Archives of, 9.
Meetings, Minutes of : *see Minutes*.
Memoirs, Personal, Contrasted with Archives, 4.
Memoranda as form of Archives, 178, 184, 185.
Memoranda Rolls, 28, 29, 31, 107.
Metal : *see under* Repositories, Shelving in.
Method, Archive : *see under* Archives.
Methodizers : *see under* Arrangement ; Lawton, John ; Morley, Richard.
Mice, Danger to Documents from, 219 *n.*
Microscope, Use of, 82.
Mildew, Danger to documents from, 222.
—, Precautions against, 223, 224.
—, Research on, 222–224.
★Mills, Miss M. H., on *Exchequer*, 224.
Ministers' Accounts, 34.
Minutes as form of Archives, 166, 169, 177, 178, 184, 185.
Miscellanea, Methods of dealing with, 101.
Miscellanea (*Audit Office*), 10.
— (*Chancery*), 26–28, 33, 84 *n.*
— (*Exch. of Receipt*), 229, 230.
Miscellaneous Books (*Exch., Augm.*), 36, 37.
— (*Exch. K. R.*), 37 *n.*
Misplacing : *see under* Documents.
Missing Documents, Register of, 133, 134.
★Mitchell, C. A., and Hepworth, T. C., *Inks*, 162.
★Morant, T., *History of Essex*, 34 *n.*
Moreau, J. G., on Transcriptions and Inventories, 115 *n.*
Morley, Richard, 'Methodizer' of Exchequer Records, 236 *n.*
★Muller, S., Feith, A., and Fruin R., *Manuel pour le Classement des Archives: see* Parts I and II *passim.*
Muniments, Private : *see* Private Muniments.
Munitions, Ministry of, History of its own work compiled by, 20, 21.
★Murray, John, *Modern Paper*, 158.
Museums, as repositories of Archives, 41.
—, Cases for, 82, 83.
—, Policy of, in Collection of Documents, 42.
—, Use of in Repositories, 82, 83.
Musters, 37 *n.*
Mutilation : *see under* Archives.

N

Napoleon, Archives carried off by, 104.
Newspaper, Archives of a, 8.
Newspaper, Contrasted with Archives, 4.
—, as part of Archives, 7.
Nonsuch Palace (co. Surrey), Records removed to, during Great Fire, 236 *n.*
Norman Pipe Roll, 237.
Norway, Archive Work in, vii *n.*
Notarial Archives in France, Italy and Spain, vi.
Notes written on documents by Archivist, &c. : *see under* Archivist.
Numbering, Rules for, 71 ; *see also under* Arrangement.

O

Oak, Danger from use of, in Archives, 220.
Office Files : *see under* Files.
Officers' Services, 6.
Officials, English : *see* App. V (i).
— : *see also under* Auditor; Chamberlains ; Chancellor ; Cheirographer ; Clerk of the Pells ; King's Remembrancer.
—, their attitude to State Papers, 186 *n.*
'*Ordre primitif*,' Theory of arrangement of Archives by : *see under* Arrangement.
Out-size Documents, Special Packing for, 52, 55, 56.

P

Packing of Documents, Preliminary, 93.
—, Considerations of space and shape, governing, 115.
—, Final, 115.
— : *see also under* Documents ; Make-up ; Seals.
Packing Numbers, 93.
—, distinguished from Accession Numbers, 94.
Paint, Treatment of, in Repair, 71.
— : *see under* Materials.
Palaeography, Works on, 204.
Palgrave, Sir Francis, on Archives, 25.
—, —, on Port Books, 124 *n.*
★Palgrave, Sir Francis, *Antient Inventories*, 25, 201 *n*, 232.
★Panisset, T. : *see* Groom, P.
Paper Fasteners, Danger of, 163.
Paper, Repair of, 68, 70–73.
— : *see under* Materials.
Paradichlorbenzene, Use of Vapour of, 221.
Parchment, Danger to, from bacteria, 221, 222.
—, Repair of, 68–73.
Paris, Archives Nationales at, vi, 18 *n*, 62.
Parish Registers, 30, 38.
Parliament, English, Speeches in, contrated with Archives, 4.
Parliament, Journals of (*Lords*), 90 *n.*
—, *Records of*, 193.
Parliament : *see also under* Commons, House of ; Lords, House of.

Paste, Varieties of, 70.
Patent Books (*Exch. of Receipt*), 236 *n.*
Patent Rolls, 29, 98.
Pells, Clerk of : *see under* Receipt, Exchequer of.
'Pells' Records : *see under* Receipt, Exchequer of.
Pencil : *see under* Materials.
' Penicillium ' (fungus), Danger to documents from, 222.
★Pepys, Samuel, *Diary* compared with Archives, 150.
★Perceval, Viscount, *Diary*, 186 *n.*
Pershore Abbey, Cartulary of, 37, 120 *n.*
Personal Letters, as Archives, 167–169.
— : *see also under* Documents, Confidential ; Correspondence.
—, Memoirs : *see* Memoirs.
Phillips, Sir Thomas, Public Records in sale of MSS. of, 238 *n.*
Photographic Devices, Use of, 82.
Photography, Facilities for, 63.
—, Light for, 48 *n.*
—, Use of, 81, 132.
—, *see also under* Documents.
Pipe Rolls, 24, 31, 142 *n.*
Plate glass : *see under* Repositories, Shelving in.
Plea Rolls, Listing of, 129.
— (*Chester*), 33 *n.*
— (*Common Pleas*), 33 *n.*
— (*Exch.*), 29, 107.
— (*Jewish*), 28.
— (*King's Bench*), 33, 63.
Poison, Use of, for protection of Documents, 219.
Poland, Re-integration of Fonds d'Archives in, vi.
Pollard, Professor A. F., on Binding of old Registers, 90 *n.*
★Poole, R. L., *The Exchequer in the Twelfth Century*, 226 *n.*
Port Books, 5 *n*, 144.
Portfolios, Use of, in make-up of Documents, 55, 60.
—, Specifications for, 211–213.
Preservation of Documents in Modern Office, Considerations for, 183, 184.
— : *see also under* Destruction ; Registry.
Presses, Special, for Large Documents, 67.
—, —, Specification for, 207.
— : *see also* Racking
Printing of Archives, Methods of, 130–132.
—, Reference Index to work done, 132.
—, Rules for, 131.
— : *see also under* Calendars ; Documents.
Private Companies, Archives of, in England, 197.
Private Muniments, 196, 197.
—, Belgian Custom regarding, 43.
Private Muniments, Examples of, in Public Record Office, 34–37, 84, 85.
—, Examples of migration of, 35–37.
— : *see also under* Archives ; Long *and* Short Title.
Privy Council Registers, 90 *n.*
Privy Seal, Writs of, 11.
Probate Records, 193.
' Proceedings ' as Archives, 23, 184, 185.
Proceedings, Chancery, 27.
Procuration Signatures, 165 *n.*
Production of Documents to Students, Problems of, 51–65.
—, Effect of on Archive Quality, 154, 155.
—, Index and Register of, 65, 134.
★Prou, M., *Manuel de Paléographie*, 198.
Provenance as method of Classification, criticized, 97.
Public and Private Archives : *see under* Archives.
Public Record Office, London : *see* App. I ; and illustrations *passim.*
—, —, Catalogue of Indexes, &c., in, x.
—, —, Connexion of, with Local Records, x.
—, —, *Guide* to : see Giuseppi, M.S.
—, —, Museum at, 24 *n.*
—, —, Registers in use at, 133 *n.*
—, —, Relation of, to Local Archives, x.
—, —, Repairing Department of, v.
—, —, Site of, 30.
—, —, Summary of Records in, x.
—, —, System of Ventilation at, 224.
Public Records, Sale of, 238.
Publication of Archives, Register of, 134.
Purchase of Documents for Archives : *see under* Belgium.
★Putnam, Miss B. H., on *Ancient Indictments*, 24 *n.*

Q

Queen Anne's Bounty, 103.

R

Racking, Varieties of, 47 *n*, 48-51, 67.
—, —, Specification for, 205–207.
—, Special, for Large Documents, Specification for, 207.
—, —, for Rolls, Specification for, 207, 208.
Ramsey, Abbey, Cartulary of, 36.
Rats, Danger to Documents from, 219 *n.*
★Raymond, Thomas, *Autobiography*, 158 *n.*
Re-agents, Use of, 81.
Receipt, Exchequer of, Medieval history of, 98 *n*, App. V (i).
—, —, —, used as example of Arrangement, 169, App. V (ii).
—, —, *Account Books* of, 230.
—, —, Archives of, from Brick Tower at Westminster, 233.

Receipt, Exchequer of, Archives of, from Chapter House at Westminster, 234.
—, —, —, Comparison of, with state in 18th cent., 235, 236.
—, —, —, Controller General takes over, 232, 233.
—, —, —, discovered in vaults at Somerset House, 232, 233, 238 *n.*
—, —, —, Final state of, 234.
—, —, —, First arrangement, 232, 233.
—, —, —, ' Methodized ' (1727), 236.
—, —, —, in 19th century, 231.
—, —, —, Removal to Public Record Office, 233.
—, —, —, removed to Surrey during Great Fire, 236.
—, —, —, removed to Whitehall, 233.
—, —, —, 17th-cent. List of, 232, 237.
—, —, —, State of Preservation of, in 1800, 236.
—, —, *Assignment Books* of, 230.
—, —, Auditor of the Receipt at, 230, 231, 236–238.
—, —, —, quarrels with Clerk of the Pells, 236, 238.
—, —, 'Auditors and Pells ' Records at, 231–239.
—, —, *Cash Books* of, 230.
—, —, Chamberlains' Duties at, 228, 230, 231.
—, —, Clerk of the Pells at, 2, 230, 231, 235–239.
—, —, Earliest Archives of, 226.
—, —, Functions of, 226.
—, —, Issue, Records of, Illustration of Development of, 239, 240.
—, —, *Issue Roll* of, 227–233, 239, 240.
—, —, *Issue Roll of Annuities* of, 240.
—, —, *Jewish Receipt Rolls* of, 228, 231.
—, —, *Jornalia Rolls* of, 229.
—, —, *Liberate Rolls* of, 227.
—, —, Origin of, 226.
—, —, *Patent Books* of, 238.
—, —, ' Pells ' Records at, 229, 230.
—, —, Post-Medieval Records of, 231.
—, —, *Receipt Books* of, 230.
—, —, *Receipt Rolls* of, 12, 28, 84, 226–230, 232–234, 237, 239, 240.
—, —, 'Scriptor Talliarum' at, 231.
—, —, *Tallie Innovate Roll* of, 229, 231.
—, —, *Tallies* used at, 226, 229, 231 ; *see also under* Tallies, Exchequer.
—, —, —, Destruction of, 229 *n.*
—, —, —, Use of, for assignments, 229.
—, —, *Taxation Receipt Rolls* of, 228, 231.
—, —, Tellers, Records of, 229.
—, —, —, *Bills* of, 238.
—, —, —, —, in Phillips' sale, 238 *n.*
—, —, Treasurer's Duties at, 228.
Receipt, Exchequer of, Triplicate arrangement at, 142 *n*, 228, App. V (ii).
—, —, Works on : *see* Agarde, Arthur ; Black, W. H. ; Devon, F. ; Fanshawe, Sir Thomas ; Jenkinson, H. ; Skinner, Sir Vincent ; Steel, A. B.
Receipt Books, 230.
Receipt Rolls, 12, 28, 84, App. V *passim.*
—, Special *Jewish* and *Taxation*, 228, 231.
Receptacles : *see under* Documents.
Reception : *see under* Archives ; Repositories.
★Record Commission, (1800–1837) *Reports* of, 203 *n*, 233.
Record, Main, Theory of arrangement by, 105–107, 109, App. V (ii).
—, —, Register in Modern Office a species of, 173.
Record Offices : *see under* Repositories, British *and* Foreign.
Records, Definition of the word, 2.
—, Legal position of, in England, 10.
—, Local, in England : *see under* Local Archives.
—, Private in England : *see* Private Muniments.
—, Public, Early consultation of, in England, 32
—, War : *see* War Archives.
— : *see also under* Archives.
★Redlich, G., on Austrian Archives, 103 *n.*
Reference, Means of, to Archives, 122, 133.
—, —, Index and Register of, 133.
—, — : *see also under* Arrangement.
References, Constituent parts of, 116, 117.
—, Methods of putting on to Documents, 117.
— : *see also under* Documents ; Key Lists.
Register, Accession : *see* Accession Register.
—, in Modern Office, Archive qualities of, 187, 188.
—, —, Aim of, 153.
—, —, Relationship of, to work of Archivist, 190.
—, —, Uses of, 178–184.
—, Transit : *see* Transit.
Registers, Archivist's, 133, 135 ; *see also under* Accession ; Make-up ; Missing ; Production ; Reference ; Repairs ; Transfer.
' Registry ' in Modern Offices, Archives of, 170–190 *passim.*
—, Archivist's relations with, 189.
—, Authentication of Documents to be controlled by, 172.
—, Archive-making to be controlled by, 170.
—, Copying of Documents to be controlled by, 172.
—, Dating of Documents done in, 172, 173.

'Registry' in Modern Offices, Destruction of documents controlled by, 172.
—, Distribution of Documents, 175, 176.
—, Documents not dealt with by, 184, 185.
—, Functions of, 171.
—, Indexes for, Varying character of, 187.
—, Materials of Archives controlled by, 171.
—, Officials of, Requirements for, 187.
—, Organization of, 187–189.
—, Preservation of documents controlled by, 172.
—, Staffing of, 187–189.
—, Subject-matter of documents described by, 174.
—, Subsidiary Documents of, 176, 177.
Remembrancer, King's : *see* Fanshawe, Sir T.
Repairing Work, for Amateurs, 67.
—, on Bindings, 76, 77 ; *see also* App. III.
—, Implements for, 74 ; *see also* App. III.
—, Light for, 48 *n.*
—, Materials for, 68–70.
—, Methods of, 70–75.
—, Principles and Rules for, 68.
—, on Seals, 79, 80.
—, Register of, 134.
Repositories for Archives, Adaptation of old building for, 46.
— : Air, Necessity of, 47.
— : Bombs, Protection from, 45, 46.
—, British : *see* Carlton Ride ; Public Record Office ; Somerset House ; State Paper Office ; Wales ; Westminster ; Whitehall.
—, Calendars, Use of, in, 126.
—, Cleaning of, 47.
—, Construction of, General qualities in, 45.
—, Convenience for working in, 47.
—, Evacuation of, to be made easy, 46.
—, Fire Brigade, Communications with, 46.
—, Foreign : *see under* Archives.
—, General guide to contents necessary, 125.
—, General Plan of, 48.
—, Heating of, 46.
—, Indexes used in, 126.
—, Keys of, Custody of, 46.
—, Lifts in, 47.
—, Lighting of, 47, 48.
—, Lighting, over-head and side, in, 48.
—, Lists of Archives in, 121.
—, Mezzanine Floors in, 50.
—, Packing of, 49, 50.
—, Racking in, Plan for, 48–50 ; *see also* App. III.
—, Registers of Work in, 133–135.
—, Safe Rooms in, 82.
—, Shelving in, Materials for (metal, plate glass, slate, wood), 51 : *see also* App. III (a).
Repositories for Archives, Space for Numbering, Reception, Sortation and Stamping in, 47.
—, ' Stack ' system in, 49.
— : Staff, Accommodation for, 46 *n.*
—, Staircases in, 50.
—, Students, Provision of Accommodation and Books for, 48.
—, Summary Inventory to be made for, 121, 122.
— : *see also under* Archives ; Libraries ; Lists ; Museums.
Requisitioning of Documents, 190 *n.*
' Restitution ' of Archives after War, 103 *n.*
Ribbons, Typewriting : *see under* Materials.
★Richardson, H. G., on Forgeries, 13, 14.
Rodney Papers, 43.
Rohan, Hôtel de, (Paris), vi.
Rolls, as forms of Archives : *see* App. V (i), *passim.*
Rolls, Master of the, 36.
—, —, given Superintendence of Manorial Records, x.
—, —, Origin of office of, 29.
—, — : *see also* Jessel, Sir George.
Rolls, Special Packing for, 52–54, 93.
Rolls Buildings (London), 30.
★Royal Commission on Public Records (1910), *Reports : passim.*
★Royal Historical Society, Publications of, 37 *n*, 85 *n*, 226 *n.*
Room Lists : *see* Lists.
Russia, Archive re-organisation in, vi.
—, Technical Research in, vii.
★Ryley, W., *Pleadings in Parliament*, 229 *n.*

S

Safe Rooms in Repositories, 82.
Sale of Archives, destructive of Archive quality, 38.
★Salzmann, L. F., on *Feet of Fines*, 24 *n.*
Sand, Used for drying ink, Evidence from, 90 *n.*
Say, Beatrix de, 34.
★Sayers, W. C. B. (*ed.*) *Library Economy*, 198.
Scaccario, Dialogus de : see *Dialogus.*
' Scaccarium Iudeorum,' 28, 142 *n.*
Scandinavia, Paper-manufacture in, 158 *n.*
Schedules : *see under* Documents.
Schleswig-Holstein, Archives of, vi.
Scotland, Documents taken from, returned, 104.
—, Archives of, 192.
' Scriptor Talliarum ' : *see under* Receipt, Exchequer of.
Seals, Casts from, 80.
—, Materials of, 79.
—, Methods of affixing, 79.

Seals, Moulding and Casting of, 57, 80.
—, Nomenclature for, 79.
—, Packing of, 56–58, 79, 213.
—, Photography of, 80.
—, Repair of, 79, 80.
—, ' Skippets ' for, 57 *n*, 82.
—, Varieties of, 56, 79, 126 *n*.
★Selden Society, Publications of, 200 *n*.
Selection of Archives, Administrator to control, 151, 152.
—, General practice relating to, 138.
—, for destruction, Methods of, 140 *n*.
—, Modern Methods of, 147.
— : *see also under* British Museum ; Destruction.
Series of Archives, Ancient and Modern, 111–113, 116.
—, 'Made' and 'Original,' 116.
Serjeant's Inn Papers, 36.
Sewing of Documents, Rules Concerning, 68, 88.
—, Value of, as evidence, 68.
Shakespeare, Documents relating to, 139, 140.
—, —, Alleged Forgeries of, 10.
Shakespearean interest proposed as criterion of Archive Arrangement, 225.
Shelf Lists : *see* Lists.
Shellac, Use of, as Fixative, 72 *n*.
—, —, in Repair of Seals, 80.
Shelving, Materials for, 205 *addendum*.
—, Duckboard pattern, 205 *addendum*.
—, —, Specification for, 207.
' Short Title ' to Land, its effect on Private Archives, 39.
Sigillography, Works on, 205.
Silk Gauze, Use of, in Repair, 70.
Size, Method of making, 69.
—, Use of, in Repair, 70, 73.
—, —, as fixative, 163.
Skinner, Sir Vincent, Auditor of the Receipt, 232.
—, —, Note on the Receipt by, 232 *n*.
Slate Shelving : *see under* Repositories.
Slip-making : *see under* Arrangement.
Smoking, Rule against, 62.
★Smyth, Sir Thomas, *De Republica Anglie*, 2 *n*.
Society of Arts : *see under* Bookbinding.
Societies, Local : *see* Local Societies.
Somerset House (London), Vaults of, as Repository, 136, 139, 232, 233, 238.
—, —, Description of, 238.
Sorting, Difficulty of, 92 *n*.
— : *see also under* Arrangement ; Repositories.
Soubise, Hôtel (Paris), vi.
Spain, Notarial Archives in, vi.
' Special Collections ' among Public Records in England, 194.
Specifications : *see under* Book-binding ; Boxes ; Filing ; Folders ; Portfolios ; Presses ; Racking ; Shelving ; Trays.
Specimens of old Work on Documents, Preservation of, 68 *n*, 77, 88, 217.
Splitting of Paper in Repair, 74 *n*.
Spring-back Binding, 76, 77.
Stack System : *see under* Repositories.
Staff, Accommodation for : *see under* Repositories.
Stafford, Earls of, 34.
★Stamp, A. E., *Revels Accounts*, 10 *n*.
Stamping, Inks for : *see* Inks, Stamping.
—, Rules for, 88, 89, 92, 162.
— : *see also under* Documents ; Materials.
Stamps, Methods of using and varieties of, 55, 162.
—, Metal, 55, 89, 162.
—, Rubber, Uselessness of, 162.
Standardization of Terms : *see under* Documents.
Stapleton, Bishop, 98.
—, —, Inventory by, 25 *n*.
State Paper Office, History of, 30 *n*.
—, Methods of Binding at, 61 *n*.
State Papers, viii, 217.
— (*Henry VIII*), 5, 132.
— (*Domestic*), 85.
— (*Foreign*), 85.
— (*Colonial*), 88.
Stationers, Early Blank Books supplied by, 61 *n*.
Stationers' Company, Archives of, 35.
Statutes, Published, 201 *n*.
★Stein, H. : *see* Langlois et Stein.
★Steel, A. B., *Medieval Exchequer*, 1.
Stitching : *see* Sewing.
Stonor Papers, 85 *n*.
Strays : *see under* Archives.
Stretching, as Method in Repair, 71 *n*, 74 *n*.
Students, Admission of, to Archives, 48 : *see also under* Production.
—, References to Archives printed or used by, 132.
Subject order : *see under* Arrangement.
Summary Inventory : 121, 122, 128, 133, 134.
Supreme Court, Records of, 33, 34.
— (*Admiralty, Probate and Divorce*), 103.
—, — (*Chancery*), 87.
— (*King's Bench*), 103, 106 *n*.
★Surrey Record Society, *Guide*, 192.
—, *Manorial Records*, 129.

T

Tackets, Gut or Vellum, used in binding, 218.
Tallie Innovate Rolls, 229, 231, 237 *n*.
Tallies, Exchequer, 9, 12, 13, 226, 228-230.
— : *Private*, 9.

Tallies, see also under Destruction ; Receipt, Exchequer of.
★Tannenbaum, S. A., *Shakspere Forgeries*, 10 *n.*
Taxation, Receipt Rolls of, 228, 231.
Teak, Use of, for Shelving, 207, 208, 220.
Telegrams, Value of copies of, as Archives, 166, 167.
Telephone messages, Representation of, in Archives, 20, 166.
Tellers : *see under* Receipt, Exchequer of.
Tellers' Bills, 238 *n.*
Tellers' Rolls, 229.
Terminology : *see under* Archives.
Theft : *see under Archives.*
★Thomas, F. S., *Guide to the Public Records*, 201 *n.*
★Thompson, A. Hamilton, *Parish History and Records*, 30.
Thymol, Use of Vapour of, 224.
Title to land : *see* Long Title ; Short Title.
Topography, Works on, 205.
★Tout, Professor T. F., *Chapters in Mediaeval Administrative History*, 1 *n*, 29 *n*, 227 *n.*
Tracing Paper, Use of, in Repairing, 69 *n.*
Transcribing, Rules for, 125, 130.
—, —, compared with principles for Editing, 126.
Transcripts, their place as Archives, 120 *n*, 121 *n.*
Transfer of Archives, Register of, 133, 134.
—, —, Violent, 104.
Transit Register, Use of, in Modern Offices, 175, 176.
Transmission : *see under* Archives.
Trays, Use, for packing Documents, 58.
—, Specification for, 209, 210.
Treasurer, Earliest Archives of his department, 24.
— : *see under* Receipt, Exchequer of.
Treasury Papers, 6, 26, 37, 96, 113.
Treasury of Receipt as Archive Repository, 25, 97.
Treasury Solicitor's Papers, 113.
Triplicate Series of Archives : *see under* Receipt, Exchequer of.
Typewriter, Effect of use of, on Archives, 20, 157, 162, 163.
Typewriting ribbons : *see under* Materials.

U

Ultra-violet Rays, Use of, 81.
United States, Archives of, vii, 21, 165 *n.*

V

Vaporization, Use of, for protection of Documents, 221, 224.
Vellum, Danger to, from bacteria, 221, 222.
—, as Binding Material, 76, 77.
—, Repair of, 69–73.
Ventilation, of Museum Cases, 82, 83.
— : *see also under* Air ; Public Record Office.
Vienna, Imperial Archives at, 103 *n.*
—, Treaty of, vi.

W

★Wailly, N. de, Circular of (1841), 8 *n*, 97 *n.*
Wales, Archives of, 192.
Walpole, Sir Robert, 186 *n.*
War Archives, Accumulation of, 21, 138.
War, 'Restitution' of Archives after, 103 *n.*
War Office, Records of, 3, 6, 20, 102, 150.
Wardour, Chidiock, Clerk of the Pells, 236, 237.
Wardrobe Accounts, 104.
Warrants, Chancery, 11 *n*, 105.
—, *Sign Manual*, 34 *n.*
Washington, United States Archives at, vii, 21, 165 *n.*
Watt Papers, 41.
Wax, Use of in Repair, 69, 79, 80.
Westminster, Brick Tower at, Record Repository in, 233.
—, Chapter House at, Record Repository in, 98, 234, 235, 237.
Weston, Sir John, 85.
Whip-cord : *see under* Documents.
Whitehall, Controller General's Office in, Repository at, 233.
Wikes Priory, Alleged forgeries by, 11 *n.*
Winchester College, Archives of, 63 *n.*
Wood : *see under* Documents, Materials for; Repositories, Shelving in.
Woodstock, Thomas of, 34.
Woven Material : *see under* Documents, Materials for.
Würtemberg, District Wardens of Archives in, vii.

X

'Xestobium' Beetle, Danger to Documents from, 220, 221.

Z

'Zapon,' Use of, in Repair, 69 *n.*

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS-URBANA
902J41M1937 C002
A MANUAL OF ARCHIVE ADMINISTRATION LOND
3 0112 025326247